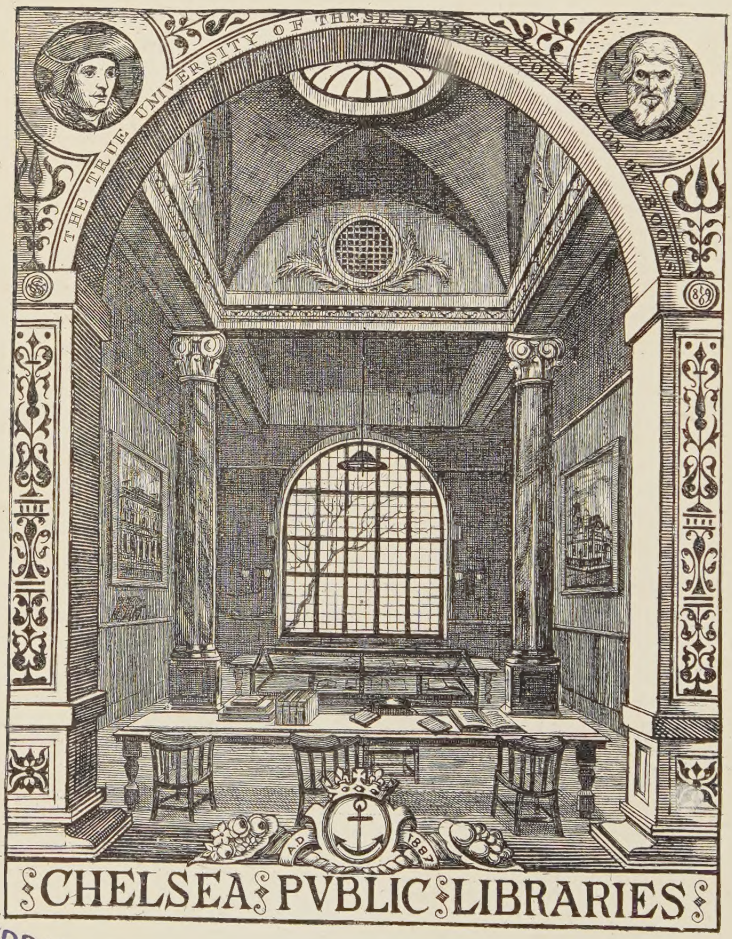

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DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO THE

REIGN OF ELIZABETH,

(1558–1568.)

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DOCUMENTS FROM SIMANCAS

RELATING TO THE

REIGN OF ELIZABETH,

(1558—1568.)

TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH OF DON TOMÁS GONZALEZ

AND EDITED,

With Notes and an Introduction,

BY

SPENCER HALL, F.S.A.,

LIBRARIAN TO THE ATHENÆUM.

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PREFACE.

MANY years have passed since Mr. Patrick Fraser Tytler, then engaged upon his 'History of Scotland,' called my attention to a very valuable series of Historical Documents printed in the seventh volume of the 'Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia,' 4to, Madrid, 1832, under the title of "Apuntamientos para la historia del Rey Don Felipe Segundo de España, por lo tocante á sus relaciones con la Reina Isabel de Inglaterra desde el año 1558 hasta el de 1576, formados con presencia de la Correspondencia Diplomática original de dicha época por Don Tomás Gonzalez, Canónigo de Plasencia."

These papers have never been translated, and were first noticed by the late Mr. Henry Howard, of Corby Castle, whose extensive researches to illustrate the fortunes of that noble family of Howard, which form so grand a picture in English history by every varied charm of character and of incident, are familiar to genealogists. They have been since quoted by Dr.

Lingard, L. Ranke, and W. H. Prescott, and are included in his work by Mr. Froude, with great additions from his own researches. But the references in Lingard's History, vol. vi., 8vo, 1849, are only calculated to confuse the reader. These are sometimes given as "Memorias," then as "Gonzalez," "From the documents at Simancas," "Feria to Philip," "Apuntamientos apud Gonzalez," whilst it is also very certain that the work has been cited by others by whom it has never been seen. The translator, therefore, has ventured to submit a series of extracts from these documents, with references to the histories of the authors by whom they have been quoted, as illustrations of the policy of Elizabeth, or which specially denote the state of parties, and of opinion, during the earlier periods of her reign. To these extracts notes have been added, without regard to religious creed or to political opinion, but solely to explain, correct, or to confirm the text.

The excerpts relating to Scotland and to Ireland have been for the most part omitted. As regards Scotland, the translator could not hope to add any matter of interest to a period, the annals of which have been recorded by the researches of Mr. Tytler, and over which Mr. Froude now throws the light of more extensive inquiry and the charm of a graceful style. With respect to Ireland the case is somewhat different. The history of Ireland in the sixteenth

century is yet to be written; most certainly it is not to be understood by a few extracts or memoranda, copied as they occurred to the transcriber, who was unacquainted with their value, and which are useless unless accompanied with explanatory narrative.

It is for this reason also that the occasional notices of the exploits of the Cobhams and of Sir John Hawkins are omitted. The Cobhams are a type of the younger sons of noble families, and of races now honourable for centuries in their own counties, who left many an ancient mansion, and many a pleasant country-seat, thick-girt with patriarchal trees, accompanied with a few retainers, or alone, for brave adventure on the "Narrow Seas." They set forth, urged by the strong impulse of the age, to ravage the coast of Spain or of her colonial possessions, to intercept the fleet laden with the wealth of the Indies, and to fight beside the Huguenot in France, or the persecuted in the Netherlands, or wherever there was need of the stout heart, for that Reformed religion which to them was honour, fame,—ay, even Life eternal. Religious zeal, once quickened, dies only from lapse of faith or the languor of gratified success. The spirit which impelled the Arab upon the West, the cry which went forth as a trumpet-blast to the Spaniard to raise on high the standard of the true Faith, and to expel the Moors from Spain, now thrilled the heart and nerved the stern reso-

lution of the Reformer. When the young heir departed from the ancestral seat, it was amid the blessings which were given of old to the Crusader. The old hall was filled by the chiefs and the retainers of his race. Age in its aspect of dignified repose, youth in its sheen of beauty, brave men who had borne the shock of foreign war, gathered around. In every hamlet and town through which he passed, the casements were opened, the street was full, and the benison of the aged, the good wish of the stalwart yeoman, and the cheering tenderness of women, bade him "God speed" on his way. When news came from the battle-field, it was related until it became a gossip's tale in every cottage, in many a lonely hamlet, and in many a hidden glen. If he returned, the tenantry trooped from afar to greet him; bonfires blazed around, and he was received amid the hearty revelry of every one allied to or born on the estate. If Fortune had been adverse, and he had found a nameless grave upon a barren strand, a trusty retainer would bring home some relic of his leader, a casque, a glove, a dinted sword, to be hung up in the church, the manor-house, or hall, as a fond and proud memorial. This which was true of the Reformer, was true also of the Catholic. However we may be separated in creed, every Englishman must regard with pride the records of those great families of the old Faith whose names impart so much interest to the history

of his land. The various classes of society were then linked in closer bonds. The difference between each grade was greater, but the sense of humanity was stronger. The laws were imperfect, but there was much manly feeling, and a hearty unity among the people. Rank, as being more assured, was less conventional in sympathy, and the sense of power in a noble mind always tempers its exercise. The conviction of a common danger, the love of an imperilled Faith, influenced alike both Catholic and Reformer, and became a law, to unite the noble with the commoner, as that "touch of Nature which makes the whole world kin."

The maritime exploits of Drake and Hawkins far exceed in interest the narratives of personal adventure. These are of national import. No chapter in English history is more attractive than that which records the rise and the gallant progress of our English navy. Partly national, partly buccaneer and pirate, it became a self-organized power in the State. When Elizabeth hesitated, it was firm; whilst the Council doubted, it struck. The hope, the courage, and the confidence of England were with the fleet. Had Spain destroyed this outward barrier, what remained to retard victory? Troops whose numbers figured upon paper, recruits hastily levied, led by the conspicuous incapacity of Leicester, to oppose the genius of Parma, and the disciplined legions of Spain!

A few extracts, therefore, could not convey to the reader the greatness of the maritime chivalry of that day,—it is an honour reserved for an abler hand. And assuredly there is no narrative which should be more cherished by the English nation. The defence of our coast, of our land untrodden since the Conquest by the foot of the invader, the boasted dominion of the seas, may become the struggle of the Future. How better can a brave mind be trained for action, than by reading the records of deeds of consummate skill, disciplined courage, and unyielding resolution?

> "And how can man die better
> Than facing fearful odds,
> For the ashes of his fathers
> And the temples of his Gods?"

The ages return upon their cycles. Ariosto and that chivalrous enthusiast Marc de Vulson, Sieur de la Colombière, mourned that—

> "Villanous saltpetre should be digged
> Out of the bowels of the harmless earth,
> Which many a good tall fellow had destroyed
> So cowardly;"—

and regretted the disuse of the mailed panoply of war. Science is now tasked to construct plate-armour for our ships; how long will it be before we revive the art of the armourers of Venice or of Milan, to provide a defence against the unerring range of the rifle? We believe in progress, and there is progress;

it is the vital law of intellectual duration. But our forces seem at intervals driven back, to be again propelled, even as the waves sway with uneasy motion until the pressure of the storm has subsided, when their current resumes its channel and rushes onward in its predestined course to find a shore.

The value of these documents becomes increased when considered in relation to the political history of the reign. They are fresh with the incidents of the day. They have an awful reality in their aspect. We trace in them the gradual gathering of the adherents of the Old and of the Reformed Faith. We can recognize clearly the current of public opinion in its eddies and deep strong-set flow. Over all, the mind of Cecil seems luminously diffused. In the overtures to Philip we detect another among the basest of the many villanies of Leicester. They are evidences of the strength of character and the weakness of the great Queen. The stern Puritan spirit is now seen, as the cloud no bigger than a man's hand, slowly rising above the horizon, dark with prescient evil, now broken and apparently dispersed, then suddenly rushing over space, sweeping onwards with destructive power. The hand of Elizabeth was strong upon the Puritan, but the hand of the Puritan struck down the momentary power and the dream of the duration of prerogative. To the Puritan we mainly owe the establishment of the Reformation in

England, civil liberty, and, as a consequence, our present toleration. Not perhaps of less interest is the insight we acquire into the policy of Philip and the intellectual qualities of those great diplomatic agents by whom it was conducted.

Proud, implacable, and unscrupulous, hating Elizabeth, but wearing hatred beneath the mask of zeal for her interests, De Feria appears. Crafty, false, subtle, unwearied through every resource to become the master of his position; watchful, by careful study of the character of his opponents, to know how to conduct events, ready to use religious conviction, or the frailty of human passions, as ministers of his Church; an adroit casuist, insolent when he could brave authority, supple when to submit was policy, never faltering for one moment in any act enjoined by spiritual or temporal interest; the political courtier, and the accomplished statesman,—we see Don Alvaro de la Cuadra, Bishop of Aquila. He was of those men whom the Church of Rome has alone created, able to survey events from the central point to the circumference of the circle, and able to command them by the accurate knowledge and scientific analysis of the value of details directed by a mind calm, collected, inexorable, supreme. Such men were Ximenes and Richelieu. His successor, Don Guzman de Silva, was an amiable, accomplished gentleman. He was cautious, experienced, diligent

in the management of affairs, skilful in negotiation, and tempered zeal by disciplined moderation. But he was unable to sound the depth of the genius of Cecil, possessed but little knowledge of women, and was perfectly unequal to compete with the cultivated coquetry, duplicity, and falsehood of Elizabeth. He stood well in public estimation and high in the favour of the Queen, who, when she dismissed Don Guerau de Espés from her court, contrasted very unfavourably his conduct with that of Don Guzman de Silva. After repeated solicitation, Philip allowed him to retire, and he was accredited to the Republic of Venice. These extracts do not extend to the embassy of Don Guerau de Espés, Caballero de Calatrava, an incompetent fanatic, nor to that of Don Bernardino de Mendoza, to whose hatred of Elizabeth is mainly due the conspiracy of Babington, and the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots. Amid all these ministers of Philip's will, we must not omit the prime movers, Cardinal Granvelle and the Duke of Alva. So long as he was in office, the Cardinal appears to have been the only man in whom Philip had confidence. The letters and the counsel of his ambassadors are sent to Granvelle, subjected to his consideration, but to be revised again by his own suspicious judgment. The Duke of Alva appears more as a statesman, hating but enduring,—

"Willing to wound, but yet afraid to strike."

The extracts perhaps of the greatest interest are those that relate to the policy which effected the establishment of the Church of England. A severe accusation, maintained by all the power of the most cultivated rhetoric, and of a most high, dispassionate, and manly judgment, has been advanced against the policy of the government of Elizabeth, as regards the Catholics. It was, no doubt, a bitter persecution, but compared with that of the reign of Mary, it appears mercy. To prohibit the exercise of the Catholic rites, to pass a retrospective law compelling men to take an oath from which their consciences revolted, was tyrannous intolerance. But to burn men who conscientiously refused to confess a doctrine they could not comprehend, and which they believed was contrary to the express authority of God, was no less tyrannical and far more cruel. It is true that before these cruel acts had passed, the Catholics were quiescent;—quiescent as powder to which the match has not been applied; quiescent as the tiger when it lies with glaring eyes crouched in the jungle, before it rushes upon the prey. They awaited the action of Philip, whose interests were then in the scale,—and he awaited time. But no dispassionate reader can doubt the dangerous attitude of the Catholics with respect to the government of Elizabeth and to the security of the Reformation. Moreover, is Intolerance that particular sin not to be forgiven to the age

of Elizabeth? Tolerance is not enjoined by Divine authority; it is not an innate conviction; it is not a natural law. It was not of the Greek, nor of the Roman, the great Eastern monarchies, of the Arab, nor of the Jew. Religion has rarely ever been separated from Government. Now Government rests upon opinion, is opinion, whose force is nourished, controlled, directed, and has been often subjugated, by the dominant religion. Intolerance was the necessary consequence of religion associated with arbitrary power in ages of most imperfect civilization. And as regards religions which depend upon dogmatic teaching, toleration by these has seldom been fully conceded. In proportion to our conviction of truth, so is our hatred of falsehood. It is not only the evil which heresy causes to the State, but the danger to the soul of the heretic, which has been the justification of intolerance. As light is gradually diffused in space, so do the truths of God become manifest only by their development through successive generations. Dazzled by the intellectual greatness of the sixteenth century, we conceive that moral truth must have been equally supreme. But this is to assume that the intellectual and the moral powers are coequal in growth, simultaneous in progression, and always combined in action. It is to ask of the child the matured judgment of the man. It is refuted by the history of every age.

Can a writer of the nineteenth century who witnessed the victory of "Catholic Emancipation," not won entirely by moral force, but greatly through political fear, reproach the sixteenth with intolerance? Can a writer of the present day in the presence of certain indications of opinion do so? Given a certain amount of fanaticism, are we sure no Bonner would arise, deprived it may be of his Smithfield,—but Bonner in spirit? And if Rome be charged with the imprisonment of Galileo, are there none ready to accuse the Church of indifference, because she does not seek the power to constrain modern Galileos who cannot reconcile their conviction with the conviction of their opponents? Fifty years ago, ignorant men were hung for the cry of "No Corn Laws." They maintained roughly opinions which had the sanction of Turgot, and were taught by Adam Smith,—the successful advocacy of which is the title of honour conferred on Mr. Cobden, whose death was honoured by the sympathy and may have closed the gates of the temple dedicated to the rivalry of two great nations. Fifty years ago, men were imprisoned and transported for maintaining schemes of Parliamentary Reform, for which others have since been advanced to wealth, to rank, and to power. Our way lies through the realms of darkness up to light.

> "Ach! unsre Thaten selbst, so gut als unsre Leiden,
> Sie hemmen unsres Lebens Gang."

A great mind may exalt itself beyond the genius of its age, but every generation is fettered by the spirit which governs its cycle. Moral and political truths are of slow development, and only become dominant as they are freed from passion by education and the stern experience of the past. Before this can ensue, the spirit of true religion must be fully understood, and the principles of civil liberty widely accepted and firmly established.

With regard to the documents, the translator has only to observe, his desire has been to render the text correctly, without the slightest attempt at style. The introductory narrative is designed to connect and illustrate the evidence they adduce.

Some difficulty has been experienced in the duty of affixing the right Proper Names for those given by Gonzalez. These were doubtless first written in cipher, and thence translated into Spanish, with the usual success of a foreign transcriber and the unhesitating boldness of a foreign printer.

Of Gonzalez some notice is given by Mr. Stirling in the 'Cloister Life of Charles V.,' page xi. The best account of the castle and of the collections at Simancas will be found in the able and elaborate preface by M. Gachard, to his work entitled 'Correspondance de Philippe II.,' and the equally valuable preface of Mr. G. A. Bergenroth, in the 'Calendar of State Papers, England and Spain,' which dis-

proves the statement made of the destruction of so many documents by the soldiers of Kellerman, as related by Mr. Ford.

It was the writer's wish to continue the extracts, and to add to the illustrations, but the claims upon his attention in the discharge of his official duties, and the few hours he can spare from other pursuits, have compelled him to limit his design, and to confine the notes to the information to be derived from the collections in the Library of the "Athenæum."

Moreover, with the advance of years arises the desire of repose. We seek the shelter of the horizon towards which our course has been directed. We skirt the coast from amid whose placid bays and jutting headlands we can discern the crested foam of the billows we have traversed, and rejoice to hear them breaking in their strength along the far resounding shore. We have then exchanged Hope for Memory, the stirring excitement of the present for the calmer pleasure derived from the review of the past years.

"And thinking of the days that are no more."

Thus we live more with the past, and in the remembrance of the struggles of our own career, and in association with that of others, we revive that consciousness of life which first impelled us to action, and that now bids us, by the deeper sense of spiritual duration, to draw nearer unto the Future. It is then

we feel the gratitude which is due to "the great minds of former ages." As they formerly imparted strength, so do they now encourage confidence; they are still a solace,—still revive the sense of the Beautiful, they are still the companions who encouraged when success trembled in the scale, and who now sustain the mind wearied down by sickness, the harsh destiny of life, and the accident of inherited misfortune. How calmly then the hour of release opens upon the mind!

> "Diffugiunt animi terrores, moenia mundi
> Discedunt, ...
> Apparet divum numen sedesque quietæ,
> Quas neque concutiunt venti nec nubila nimbis
> Aspergunt."

The translator cannot conclude without the expression of his grateful sense of the kindness and of the aid afforded to him by John Bruce, Esq.; J. A. Froude, Esq.; Thomas Duffus Hardy, Esq.; and Sir Charles George Young; but particularly for the revision and the suggestions with which he has been favoured by the Rev. W. W. Skeat.

Nor should the valuable information derived from the Calendars of the State Papers of this period, edited by the late W. B. Turnbull, Esq., Robert Lemon, Esq., and the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, be passed unnoticed. In the Venetian Papers edited by Rawdon Brown, Esq., there is an account of the death of

Elizabeth, derived from the letters of the Secretary Scaramelli. He attributes it to the ambitious designs of Arabella Stuart. The remainder cannot be better related than in the words of the Editor. "The letters which follow are very interesting. Some are written in duplicate on slips of paper, to be smuggled across the water as they can, for when the Queen's danger could not be concealed the ports were closed. The various rumours; the alarm of the citizens; the supposed movements and the actual arrests of the Roman Catholics; the difficulty of maintaining order in a town 'scarcely less than Paris, and incredibly ill fortified;' the interview of the Council with the dying Queen; her suggestion in favour of the King of Scots; the decision of the Council and the departure of Baron Gree, Sir R. Carey, for Scotland, when all is over; the Queen's own directions respecting her person after death; the details of the Court ceremonies previous to interment; the attempts made by some of the Roman Catholics to claim the deceased as a co-religionist, from her dying expressions of regret, and the ornaments of her chapel when alive,—all these and many more such particulars are told with an awe-struck earnestness, which almost makes the reader a contemporary witness, as the writer of the dispatch was, of the events which marked the last scene of the great Queen's life."

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ERRATUM.

Page 9, line 21: *for* over-raught *read* over-wrought.

Contemporary Princes.

GERMANY.

FERDINAND I. Born March 10, 1503; died July 25, 1564.
MAXIMILIAN II. Born August 1, 1527; died October 12, 1576.

FRANCE.

HENRY II. Born March 31, 1518; died July 10, 1559.
FRANCIS II. Born January 19, 1544; died December 5, 1560.
CHARLES IX. Born June 27, 1550; died May 30, 1574.

SPAIN.

PHILIP II. Born May 21, 1527; died September 13, 1598.

POPES.

PAUL IV., "Caraffa." Born June 28, 1476; died August 18, 1559.
PIUS IV., "Medici." Born March 31, 1499; died December 9, 1565.

SCOTLAND.

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS. Born December 8, 1542; beheaded February 8, 1587.

INTRODUCTION.

A CITIZEN of London, estranged as he is by the lapse of centuries, the changed aspects of the day, the contrast of laws, habits, social associations and events, can hardly realize the scene when in the gloom of the early morning of November 17th, 1558, to be hereafter for centuries called "the Queen's day," the inhabitants of London first heard the rumour of Queen Mary's death. Four days before, a woman had been set in the pillory for simply repeating that—the Queen was dead. The spy and the informer lurked privily at the corners of the streets, and watched eagerly for the light of joy on the face of the heretic. The eager spread of the rumour was a sign of disaffection. The Catholic feared the advent of the coming change, and fear begets suspicion. The Reformer walked with an unassured step, but nursed in his heart the hope of the retribution to come. But at the hour of the Queen's death a few only were seen stealthily

creeping through streets dim with the winter's mist, to whisper the glad tidings to the neighbour's ear, and exchange that grasp of the hand which certifies the common feeling. Gradually the casements opened, greetings were exchanged in the streets, the crowds increased, the news was sure, the joy was affirmed. Parliament was assembled at eight o'clock for the morning session. Between eleven and twelve of the forenoon, the Lady Elizabeth was proclaimed Queen by divers heralds of arms and trumpeters, dukes, lords, and knights, the Lord Mayor, and the aldermen. Shouts of acclamation welcomed the procession. In the afternoon every steeple poured forth its peal of bells. As the evening closed in, bonfires were lighted, tables were set in the streets, round which during the long winter night the citizens did eat, drink, and make merry. Strange faces, and of men once well-known at Paul's Cross, hot gospellers of a former day, emigrants from Flanders, or disciples of Geneva who had long been hidden from public haunts, now reappeared and mingled with the crowd. Their presence increased the common joy, it was evidence against the Past, the argument of the Future. There was a deeper sense of life in relation to events in those days, more earnest convictions both as regards religion and government. The sixteenth century had emerged from the darkness, and had broken the traditions of the past. Vague speculations were afloat. The spirit of adventurous enterprise stirred the heart of a hardy and brave class. Death had freed England from a

cruel tyranny; the power of the priesthood was gone. Elizabeth, it was felt, would head the Reformation. Those essential dogmas of faith upon which man grounds his hopes of salvation, the principles of government upon which the liberty, the very safety of the citizen depend, were at issue. A man's life was then borne along by the strong current of each day's thought. Nor was this all. Earnest questions pressed for decision. The country had been wasted by disease and famine. The loss of Calais was on every lip. The exchequer had been drained to supply the needs of the hated alliance with Philip, or wasted upon monks and friars. The coast was unguarded; the navy since the days of Henry had been studiously neglected. The levies were imperfect, badly trained, the officers of known incompetence. The nobility had decayed, the middle class had not arisen. Society, from the crown to the lowest peasant, stood opposed in angry masses. The realm was cleft in two, by the antagonism of religious convictions. When the Catholic recalled the annals of his Church, its antiquity, the divine sanctity of its origin, its spiritual influence during the ages of faith,—when he revived the memory of those devoted spirits who had toiled and endured poverty, disease, and cruel death for the overthrow of Paganism,—when he evoked the greatness of that power which had confronted the tyranny of rulers, refused to the blood-stained Emperor of the world the entrance into the temple, controlled the barbarism of the feudal baron, and

effected the manumission of the serf,—when in the spirit of graceful association he attested that generous encouragement of art which awed the world by its grandeur and development of religious feeling, and felt as he must have felt its consecration to the influence of his Church,—he looked down upon the Reformer, with horror, with hate, and with scorn. In the most sincere and devout conviction of faith he held the Church to be its exponent. When he looked around and meditated on the manifold wickedness of man, the sensible want of the Deity on earth, the fearful sense of that deficiency to his mind, he realized the clemency which had appointed the human Vicegerent, who could albeit faintly, even as clouds reflect the greater glory of heaven, manifest the truth, the love, and the mercy of his Spirit. And when he saw around him so many monuments of the piety of the past, the noble cathedral, the parish church, the abbey, and the convent, neglected, destroyed, stripped of their ornaments, given over to the spoiler and to premature decay, their inmates driven out to exile and to beggary to gratify the grasping covetousness of some needy courtier who had bartered his soul for the possession of a robber's wealth,—when he saw God's worship despoiled of the means for its due celebration, the ritual and the symbolism alike dishonoured,—his scorn and his hate became more intense, and the shouts he heard around him were as the driving rack of the cloud which forebodes the fury of the coming storm.

Thus thought the Catholic, through faith illumined by the imagination and exalted by the religious submission of the will. The Protestant met both hate and scorn with defiance. His mind was tempered hard as the age, and his feelings had an edge of steel. He reprobated the religion of Rome as idolatry. He had no sympathy with the past. He described the Pope as Antichrist. The priestly garments, the ritual, and the symbolism were to him as the very marks of the "Beast." He disowned the supremacy of the Pope.

> He rode sublime
> Upon the seraph's wings of ecstasy—

when he spoke of the courage of that great king,

> "Who broke the bondage of imperial Rome."

He appealed to the authority of Bishop Gardiner and of Bonner, who had aided him in his cause, and opposed the Papal assumption as a vain thing. He reviled, he spat upon the doctrine of Transubstantiation. He derided the claim of antiquity put forward by the Roman Church. Spiritual truth, of which she assumed to be the appointed teacher, was revealed in the Bible, and what said that record?—that Spiritual truth was coeval with creation, coexistent with the birth of the Founder of the Christian faith—the Son of God. And what reverence was due to antiquity? Antiquity, if antiquity be considered, could assert no claim to unqualified obedience, since in that respect the religion of Bouddha was equal to that of Christ. He pointed to the luxurious lives, the dissolute con-

duct of the clergy. He hinted at the illegitimate offspring of Bonner, and noticed the avowed sale of titles of nobility to the recognized children of the clergy in Spain. He recalled with fearful energy the horror of the recent persecutions, from which their fellow-citizens the Catholics themselves shrank with shame. He could attest, he dared not deny their many virtues, and he knew they had not counselled cruelties they could not control. Not for them, but against them, had these deeds been done. Smithfield was before them; the crowd saw the space as if still red with the glare of the flames amid which the martyrs had perished. They had seen the sinews burst, the flesh scorch, the blood gush forth seething upon the ground, and triumphant above all had heard the gasping assertion of the sufferer's faith. The prisons were yet choked with crowds rotting by disease engendered by foul sewers, deprived of light and food, cruelly beaten, and brought down unto death by starvation. The names of Cranmer, Hooper, Lawrence Sanders, Rogers, Ridley, and of Latimer passed from lip to lip. The London apprentices, a formidable band in those days, dwelt on the case of Hunter, the story of whose sufferings presses upon the heart even to this day. Sorrow for victims tortured and burnt still hovered over many a household, and its gloom darkened the genial life of many a large town. But to no city were such scenes so discordant as to London. The aspect of the metropolis was not then as it is now. Situated in a fruitful valley, the ground gradually rose

fringed with woods, between which flowed the then silvery Thames. In Cowley's days he speaks of the pollution of the river, a fact which has required the energy of the nineteenth century (with some reluctance) to overcome. But in 1558 the streets of London were wont to ring with the revelry of the day. They were constantly teeming with life by the processions and the pageants of the City and the Court. Even the funerals were a gorgeous show. When the Queen rode through, the houses were hung with cloth of gold, costly silks, and tapestry, and she came accompanied by the mayor and aldermen, the chief officers of her household, the high court ladies, and her guards with bands, whilst the crafts of London stood in a row with banners and streamers, and a goodly array of knights and nobles, all arrayed in the sumptuous costume of the time. Then the setting up of the Maypole in the spring, the great feasts of the Corporation and of the City crafts (a disease even then endemic to those of London), the pageants on Lord Mayor's day, the gambols of the Lord of Misrule, and the revelry of various guilds, imparted a hearty joyous feeling to the citizens. Many events of the past reign were also now revived. Some had witnessed the entry of the Lady Elizabeth when she rode into London on the 29th July, 1553, through Fleet Street, to my Lord Somerset's place. Others recalled the 22nd February, 1553–54, when, as light waned in the cheerless sky, she came riding through Smithfield unto Westminster with a hundred velvet coats afore her Grace. Her Grace rode in a

chariot open on both sides, pale and ill, returning but faintly the greetings of the people. This was done to disprove the slander of Renard. A hundred more retainers followed in coats of scarlet and fine red, guarded with velvet, and so by way of Fleet Street unto the Court by the Queen's garden. And all along the darkening streets the crowds accompanied her; silent—for it was her hour of trial—to the rooms assigned to her at Westminster. And then a murmur rose again from amid the serried crowds whilst one related how the Emperor Charles and his ambassador, combined with Gardiner, had sought to induce Mary to shed her blood; or another recalled to willing listeners that 18th of March, 1553, three days after sentence on Sir Thomas Wyatt, how her Grace had been carried to the Tower in the forenoon. Bitter were the curses, bitter the mouthed hate mingled with undissembled joy which arose as the funeral cavalcade of Queen Mary passed along. It was the 13th day of December, 1558, "when the corpse of the late Queen was brought from St. James's in a charett, with the picture of images like her person adorned with crimson velvet, and her crown on her head, her sceptre in her hand, and many goodly rings on her fingers, whilst up and down the long procession the heralds rode to see all passed in order." There was no sound of sorrow.

"The funeral
Made the attraction and the black the Wo."

And yet the woman thus buried in pomp amid

hate and scorn—cut off from that sympathy, the touch of nature, which awakens sorrow by the sense of the common doom, and signed by that fearful note of blood which has made her name execrable to all time—may yet, to some extent, deserve the charity of a later age. None can deny her piety, no one contest her pure unsullied life. The sincerity of her faith made her intolerant, a vitiated intellect made her cruel. She was of the Spanish blood of her mother, a Catholic of that stern unhesitating faith which endures no deviation from it, and dares all for its extension. She looked upon heresy as a sin to be extirpated only by fire and the sword. Was it not so in Spain, in France? Was it not authorized by the Pope, sanctioned by Cardinal Pole? Brooding over her early wrongs increased the morbid gloom which thickened on her mind. She was weary of solitude, heart-broken by the neglect of Philip, subdued unto despair by the death of hope of offspring. She believed this to be the sign of God's judgment upon her for her kingdom's sin, and thus, reason overraught by sorrow, and her conscience excited and misled by harsh spiritual guides, she enforced the persecution she believed was expiation. The difficulty is great to assign to each actor the relative measure of guilt. The weight inclines towards Cardinal Pole. He was the Legate, and Mary's spiritual adviser. By his first edict and the introduction of the register, he authorized the acts which ensued. A subservient Parliament had granted the necessary powers. The

work was committed to Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, Bonner, Bishop of London, and Harpsfeld, Archdeacon of Canterbury. Gardiner was a man of high moral courage, of a firm, vigorous, and comprehensive mind. He won the confidence, he dared the displeasure of Henry. He had written against the supremacy, he had maintained the divorce of Katherine before the Pope. He was pliant from ambition, and inclined to conduct events more from policy than principle. But once to be assured was once to be resolved,—he wrought his purpose onward with resolute will. Nurtured beneath the imperious mind of Henry and the pride of Wolsey, he resolved the heretics should submit or die. He believed that, the leaders smitten, the baser sort would fly. He was bitterly deceived; as the men fell, the rank closed up, firm, compact, defiant. Whether in contempt or disgust, he desisted from the persecution and flung to Bonner the shame of its continuance. Bonner's character has recently undergone the process of rehabilitation. It was needed. That he has suffered from the excitement of religious feeling there can be no doubt. Exaggeration is the error of the after-age which tracks the steps of eminence for good or evil. Hate and affection grow on what they feed. The credulity of the Puritan is not greater than the credulity of many accepted lives of the early saints and martyrs of the Church. Tiberius and Nero are described to us as infamous, they have also met with apologists, yet no one doubts that Tiberius and Nero

were bad men. Every man has his secret idol, and it is well when his worship does not darken unto superstition, and cast the gloom of his intolerance over the charitable estimation of the character of others. With every allowance for party hate and religious zeal, the evidence is irresistible that Bonner deserved the infamy to which he has been consigned. He was a man of ability, eminent for his knowledge of canon law. With Gardiner he had maintained the doctrine of the supremacy, and had supported the divorce of Katherine. His temper was rough, passionate, and violent. He stunned Sir Thomas Joscelyn with a blow of his fist in Hadham Church, and treated Cranmer on his condemnation with indignity. His manners were so coarse that when, in 1533, he was sent to Rome to maintain Henry's appeal to a General Council, he so incensed Clement, that he threatened to throw him into a caldron of boiling lead. He felt himself hated, and therefore,—hated. Like Gardiner, he believed the terrible doom of fire through the land would induce submission. Heresy scripturally was sin, politically rebellion. For this end he was content to become the Inspector "Titelmann," the "Tom Boilman" of the Government. The time came when even Bonner loathed his task. It was too late, he was hounded on by the insane misery of Mary and the compliance of Pole. In vain Renard counselled moderation, in vain Alva demurred, in vain Philip withheld his sanction and bade his chaplain inculcate tolerance,—the evil work went on; grief,

sorrow, and dolour subsided into stern hate; many noble minds turned with anguish from the church of their fathers, and, as it has happened from the days of St. Stephen, the blood of the martyr became the baptism of the convert. Mary was buried with all the pomp of her rank and the ceremonial of her Church. No monument was raised to her honour. Her tomb was formed of the altars which were destroyed. Two small black tablets alone, at the west base of the tomb of Elizabeth, denote the spot where she lies. How often in succeeding years when the power of the Puritan was mighty upon the land, did not his step recoil, and the thought arise—

"Caina attende chi vita ci spense"!

Bishop Gardiner was buried at Winchester, where his chantry remains. On the 21st day of November, 1555, his body was carried to St. Mary Overy's. Bonner presided, the knell, the dirge, and the requiem, —all the solemn and sacred ceremonial of his Church were appointed to do him honour. But on the 18th day in the early dawn of the cheerless December morning, Archdeacon Philpot was carried to be burnt at Smithfield, and on the 22nd January, 1555–6, between seven and eight o'clock, went into Smithfield to be burnt five men and two women, and they were all burnt by nine between three posts. In this manner, with these rites, and such "burnt-offerings," Gardiner was interred. Cardinal Pole died on the 19th November, 1558, and was honourably buried at Canterbury by permission of Elizabeth. A mutilated

tomb on the north side of the Cathedral marks his grave. No such respect was paid to Bonner. He died on September 8th, 1569. On the accession of Elizabeth, he presented himself to her,—she recoiled from him with horror. He was soon after confined in the Marshalsea. There he was liberally treated, but the hate of the people encompassed him as a shroud; he never dared to walk abroad, he would have been torn to pieces in the streets. When his death was known, the passions of the Catholic and the Reformer were aroused. To avoid the tumult which it was sternly rumoured his funeral would occasion, Grindal ordered him to be buried at midnight without the use of any ritual, in the churchyard of St. George's, Southwark. Shouts of derision accompanied the bearers. By the glare of the torches, amid the confusion and the hasty pressure of friends and foes, his body was cast into the Gehenna set apart for thieves and murderers. Then the crowds rushed together, a wild cry arose, and the corpse of Bonner was trampled down in his grave beneath the pale stars.

Elizabeth was twenty-five years of age when she ascended the throne. In stature she was rather above the middle height, and of a well-proportioned figure. Her features were more agreeable than handsome, strongly defined almost to harshness in her later age, her forehead high, the complexion fair, eyes good, and her hair—the subject of much poetic flattery and conceit—of a reddish-brown. Always stately, no one more pleasingly united a winning grace with frank

condescension. In her progresses or in public entrances, the offering of the poorest was as welcome as that of the highest. She was endowed with a high mental capacity, keen intuition into character, exercised with great tact and discretion. Her judgment was strong rather than sound, vitiated by flattery, and made passionate by her imperious will. She was frugal even to penuriousness in expenditure,—a good principle, exercised wilfully and often with danger to the State. Her attainments were great, she read and spoke Latin, French, and Italian with fluency. John Belmain was her master in French, Battista Castiglione in Italian. Scanarelli, the Venetian Ambassador, praises the graceful manner in which she addressed him at her last public audience, a few days before her death. In no one have more opposite qualities been combined. "To-day, more than man—to-morrow, less than woman." To-day ready to meet whatever enemy might threaten, on the morrow she revoked decision, recalled the instructions given, vacillated as to the means, and frustrated measures of great pith and moment by the most perverse self-will. The dangers which broke around her were very great, decision was hazardous, yet the higher the storm hurtled in its force, so rode in its career her pride and courage. As the flash struck harmless, or the clouds sunk in gloomy masses on the horizon, her mind sprang back as if overstrained by its tension, and was almost broken by the recoil. At these moments she was unendurable. She loaded her ministers with reproaches, and drove

them from her presence. Sick with vexation, Cecil, whose motto was patience, and who said that by patience and judgment men might control the courses of the stars, took to his bed, or sought in study and retirement a release from care. Unabashed and false, Leicester fawned and flattered. Throckmorton feigned the danger he reported, to arouse her mind to firmer action. Walsingham never relaxed the pursuit of his policy, but sat like a spider watching his web, through which she ofttimes broke, and dashed aside its fine-spun circles,—but in which she was often caught. But, again, her high intelligence broke through the slumbrous vapour of the cloud, she gracefully yielded and confided in the council of those great men, by whom the power of England was assured, that of Spain defied, that of France dared to its issue. Rightly to estimate the character of this great Queen, we must view it in relation to the state of religion and the domestic and foreign policy of her reign.

Her religion it is difficult to define. It was not based upon deep conviction, but rather faith, influenced by early association, governed by her mental qualities and determined by policy. She appears to have favoured the design of Henry and of Gardiner to establish a religion of Catholic acceptance, independent of Rome, with the Crown as the Supreme Head. The Parliament conceded to her full powers to ordain and regulate the ritual and the ceremonial. Her inclinations were towards Romanism. She told De Cuadra she differed but little from him. She believed in the Real

Presence in the Sacrament. She had fully conformed in the days of Mary, and retained the symbols of the Church of Rome in her own chapel, so that after her death its members claimed her as a communicant. In fact, she desired to secure the conformity of the moderate Romanist and Reformer, but forgot that "the spirits of great events stride on before the events;" imperious as was her will, so was the demand of the age, and she yielded to the control. Man is never a free agent,

"Denn ihn besiegen die gewalt'gen Stunden."

The influence of the sixteenth century was upon her and around her. The invention of printing, the revival of letters, the great and varied intellectual power of the age, arose against the system of tradition and of authoritative teaching which fettered the mind, forbade inquiry, and excluded reason from the companionship of faith. There was a time when it was feared the darkness of the tenth century would oppress the mind, as the "cappe con cappucci bassi" of the tortured souls in the 'Inferno.' There was a time when it was feared that Europe would yield to the influence of the intellectual sensuous paganism of the court of Lorenzo. There was a time when the clergy were the sole guardians of the oracles of God; these were now voiced in many lands, and had become the glad tidings of salvation, by which knowledge should be inspired, and ignorance disciplined. The Reformation was an intellectual movement towards a deeper conviction of moral truth, the progress of knowledge,

and the development of those faculties by which man learns not only the laws of creation, which are the revelations of God, but the duties his relative position enjoins unto Deity. Elizabeth recognized the movement; her interests were protected by her policy. She was the enthroned opinion of her people as regarded religion, and she gave it effect. With her, the government of the Church was subordinate to the civil power. She maintained the doctrines of the Reformation, and tried at first to temper opposing creeds with equal power. She withdrew abruptly from the offertory when Bishop Oglethorpe was preparing to say Mass, and silenced Dean Nowell in the pulpit. She forbade preaching on irritating subjects at Paul's Cross. If she defied the Pope, she hated Knox; and a Catholic found more favour in her sight than a Puritan. For with the Puritan came greater freedom of debate, the courage to confront prerogative, and opinions as to the "Monstrous Regiment" of women. Towards her own clergy her conduct was harsh. There was much to justify her acts, for the times required a firm control. The state of the churches was deplorable; they had been left to fanatical neglect and ruin. The sacrament was administered in the most irreverent manner, the service for the altar was borrowed from the nearest house, and the communicants took their seats at tables which the Catholics termed oyster-boards. The estates of the church were alienated by the Bishops. The higher dignitaries had availed themselves of the spoliation of

the churches, and shared the plate and costly carvings with the nobility and gentry. Many parishes were left without a clergyman, in almost all the service was neglected. But it was upon the question of vestments that the war raged. To many the surplice, the tippet, and the corner cap, were the express symbol of Anti-Christ;—"it was worse than the mickle deil." The Puritan influence was strong, the conforming clergy were treated with contumely; hence the vestment was worn according to the opinion of the incumbent. To remedy these great abuses, the Queen resolved to enforce the Act of Uniformity. Nothing however could reconcile her to the marriage of the clergy. She looked upon it as concubinage; a second marriage was reproached by the decent term of bigamy.

It is with reluctance we approach the persecution of her reign. It was bitterly severe, but a persecution not so much for the maintenance of an intolerant creed, as exacted by a policy imposed from necessity. The kingdom was rent in twain. The Catholics gathered together in gloomy force. The Reformers were eager for their repression. Intolerance breeds intolerance. So long as the salvation of man is held to depend upon the acceptance of particular tenets as of divine truth, any deviation from the faith is heresy, and in those days heresy was the sin not to be remitted. This was the creed of St. Augustine and of Dominic. It is not until men recognize that as rivers flow into the sea and are lost in the great depths of its expanse, so all creeds are absorbed in the divine intelligence, the mercy and love

of God, that Toleration becomes a divine law. Man should strive unto the truths of the Eternal, but rest in the humility of awe, of love, and faith. The Catholics, weak in the cities, were powerful in the country districts. They were dangerous from their alliance with Philip, and the intrigues of the house of Guise. They looked to treason for their deliverance, and the re-establishment of their creed by supporting the cause of Mary Stuart. It cannot be doubted that on this plea the Queen's life was in constant danger from the act of any fanatic. It was entirely in accordance with the age. So fell Francis, Duke of Guise, William of Orange, Henry III. and Henry IV. of France. The Sacred College had offered rewards to any one who would make away with the Queen, and from her ascent to the throne to the conspiracy of Babington, her life was in constant danger. Without consulting Philip, the Pope deposed Elizabeth, and the temerity of Felton showed the spirit it awakened. Norfolk's treason, his correspondence with Alva, his profession of the Catholic faith, his proffered allegiance to the Pope and Philip, and the rebellion of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, increased the intolerant excitement against the Catholic party. The laws increased in severity; they were made cruelly retrospective, and withdrew from the dissidents the common rights and privileges of the citizen. The Catholics were forbidden to use the rites and ceremonies of their worship, and compelled to attend a service which they were bound to hold sinful. In

their distress they appealed to the Pope for permission to conform to the service as ordained; their appeal was referred to the Inquisition, and refused. For neglect they were fined £20 per lunar month. If a priest said Mass, he was fined, and his communicant congregation, as well as himself, were to be imprisoned until the fine was paid. The amount of the fines thus levied has been estimated at £10,333. Oppressive use was made of these laws to exact heavy contributions for the Crown. Finally the priests were banished. To remedy this, the Society of Missionary Priests was founded, and in A.D. 1577 came to England. Their zeal stimulated the persecution. It was known they were associated with the plots against the Queen, and maintained the connection of the Catholic party with the continent; hence they lived a life of constant danger. They arrived, and went abroad in disguise and under false names. They were met by guides similarly concealed; they avoided towns and highways, were led by unfrequented roads, over moss and moor, the difficult pass of the mountain, from house to house. Where they arrived, they were hidden in trees amid tangled woods, or concealed in subterranean vaults, in chambers constructed within walls and chimneys, or in rooms screened by every device to mislead the eye. Authority was given for their pursuit. Upon any pretext, at any hour of the day or night, an officer might demand entrance into the house of a Catholic. Every room was searched, and no respect shown to age or infancy, the sacredness of

retirement, the privilege of sickness. The walls were struck with mallets, rapiers thrust into the chinks of the wainscots. The narratives of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, of Sir Francis Tresham, and of Edward Rookwood, are illustrations of this cruel abuse of power. Elizabeth endeavoured to mitigate the mutual hatred of the opposing creeds. She ordered the Oath of Supremacy not to be tendered a second time; she restrained the zeal of the Bishops, and acted with rigour towards the Puritans. But so little was tolerance in accordance with public feeling, that the Queen and those of her council in favour of a lenient policy were in disfavour. Divines inveighed against idolaters, the Puritans declaimed against Antichrist, judges were ominous as to the transgression of the law. The life of Elizabeth was the ark of the Reformation; every hour brought details of the bitter persecution in Spain, the Netherlands, and France. Crowds of exiles, escaping from death and the sack of cities, made opinion more hostile, and the conviction of danger induced the remorseless policy engendered by fear.

The foreign policy of Elizabeth was founded solely upon the principle of defensive aggression. The power of Philip was projected like a dark shadow, with fear of change eclipsing nations, over Europe. His fleet was powerful, had contested the power of the Turks, claimed to ride supreme over the narrow seas, and kept the seaboard of England on the jocund watch for brave adventure. The Spanish army was the

most formidable in Europe; it had been led to victory by a succession of illustrious chiefs, and was composed chiefly of an infantry, then the terror of the world. Recruited from all quarters, of indomitable courage, trained by severe discipline, mutinous for distinction, lustful and heartless, patient of hunger and fatigue, reckless of danger, covetous of spoil,—these men seemed to their age the incarnation of Evil for the destruction of man. What the Huns were to the Goths, the godless troopers of Dundee to the Covenanters, these men appeared to the Reformer. Such they stood, unmoved, compact, and firm in gloomy grandeur, amid the changing fortune of the battle-field, as men willing to conquer fortune or abide it, until, their ranks thinned but unbroken, they surrendered victory on the plains of Rocroy. The resources of the State were wielded with the unity of despotism. The power of the nobles was gone. The independence of the Commons passed away at Villalar. Yet the power of Spain was external and unreal. It resembled a royal mantle stretched over the beggar's sore. The nation was exhausted by the wars of the Emperor and Philip. The exchequer was exhausted. To meet this, Philip had recourse to the most rigid expedients. Titles of nobility were sold, public offices created expressly for sale, and made hereditary to enhance the cost. Waste lands were sold, the bastard children of the clergy legitimized, and allowed to purchase titles. Loans were raised at an exorbitant interest, and the property of merchants, on board the

Indian fleet, sequestered for the King's use. But it was chiefly on the wealthier clergy that the King preyed. They were as sheep in the hands of the shearer; the wool on the flock was rich. Philip's faith was sincere, his obedience to the Pope undoubted; but he did not hesitate to disobey his rescript, and his hand on the clergy was that of Gideon on the Midianites. To him, in this respect, the gleaning of the grapes of Ephraim was better than the vintage of Abiezer,—the plunder of the clergy than the taxation of Spain. His kingdom was harassed by external danger. The coasts of Spain were threatened by formidable pirates, and the Turks imperilled his African possessions. The policy of the Papal court was doubtful; that of France, armed or disarmed, antagonism; the Netherlands were in insurrection. Internally, Spain was wasted by a bad economy and the expulsion of the Moriscos. In this exigency he was unable to attempt the conquest, but sought the alliance of England. Such an alliance was hopeless. The stronger nation trails the fortune of the weaker, *à la remorque*, for good or evil fortune. England had been allied with Spain, and the result was debt, defeat, and the loss of Calais. Spain was hateful to the Reformers; her colonial possessions were coveted; and the buccaneer and pirate, the strength of the rising power of the English navy, ravaged her possessions, impelled by the desire of booty and the gratification of religious hate.

The power which Philip could not command he would not have possessed by another. France united

with Scotland under the dominion of Mary Stuart, England subdued or allied, would create a power dangerous to his interests. He feared this above all possible contingencies, and almost wished on this account the death of the Queen of Scots. "Si la jeune reine [M. S.] venoit à mourir, elle nous tireroit de graves embarras," he writes to Granvelle. Not to support the claims of Mary, was to give stability to the Reformation, to unite the Calvinist with the Huguenot and the English reformers. Philip drifted with the stream; he postponed occasion to exigency. Alva promised the hour, but its stroke never fell upon his ear. Not even the genius of Parma could control or command event. Had he struck at England at the accession of Elizabeth, the pride of place of England had been thrown back in the advance of nations. Had he united with the Guises, he might have coerced the Reformation. Suspicious of France he proffered friendship to, and sought to maintain by his able ministers an influence over, Elizabeth. He depressed the English Catholics by his apparent neglect. He refused the repeatedly proffered treason of the Irish, and finally slunk into a plotter of schemes for the assassination of Elizabeth, and the elevation of Mary Stuart to the throne, until he was compelled ingloriously to abandon hope by a defeat, which scattered along the sea-coast of his own possessions the wreck of the Armada.

The policy of France was similar to that of Spain. The depression of England, the re-establishment of

religion, the rooting out of the Calvinist heresy, were all combined with the fate of Mary and her accession to the throne. Rome, France, and Spain were united for this end. But the political condition of France was worse than that of Spain. A succession of weak kings, the influence of a crafty, scheming, unprincipled woman, the civil war which paralysed the functions of the State, jealousy of Philip, the unquiet of the Papal Court, rendered impossible a common action. It was not the design of Cecil to meet the enmity of France or Spain by open war; for this the resources of the country were inadequate. Hence he commenced the system of "practices." Well served by spies of every rank, from the ambassador to the suborned priest, the swashbuckler in a tavern and the lowest informer of the streets, the designs of every Court, the conspiracies of priest and fanatic, and the temper of the people, were known and registered in his cabinet. The very papers of Philip were not safe in his desk. De Cuadra has expressed his regret he could not, out of regard to his priestly vows, stain his hands with the blood of his secretary, who had sold his secrets to Cecil. England was defended by fostering the internal troubles of her enemies. The Reformers in the Netherlands, the Huguenot in France, the Calvinist in Scotland, were abetted, subsidized, and aided when success would repay, or danger weighed more with Elizabeth than expenditure. But no defence can be offered for such policy. State necessity is its only plea. She met her

enemies with weapons forged in their own armoury. For any advantage, Elizabeth did not scruple to abet sedition, which as a principle she haughtily disavowed. For any advantage, she denied the policy she had authorized. It was thus that she disclaimed the acts of Murray, that she disavowed her acts as regarded the revolted Netherlands, that she repudiated the acts of Drake and of Sir John Hawkins, the profits of whose piracies she had shared.

It now remains to consider the conduct of Elizabeth in relation to Mary, Queen of Scots. Her imprisonment can be justified only as an act of State necessity. There is no other plea. To have opened her prison doors and bade her go forth free would have made her the active chief and rallying-point of Catholic disaffection, and of the power of Rome against England. The same cause compelled her execution. That Mary was guilty of promoting the plan that Spain should "set on" England, her own letter, which extorted for its ability the reluctant praise of Cecil, fully proves. Mendoça, to whom this was addressed, was the confidant and the promoter of the conspiracy of Babington, of which this plan was part. That the death also of Elizabeth, a long premeditated scheme of her enemies, was equally the very principle of this plot urged by the Jesuit section and supported by Mendoça, cannot be disputed. That Mary knew and approved the special point of the assassination may be doubted. A charge of this kind adduced by Walsingham, and supported by

such agents as Philipps and Gregory, stands impugned by the most just suspicion. But Mary knew that concurrence in a part involved condemnation on the whole. She played with Elizabeth for life or death: "Vita Mariæ—mors Elisabeth. Vita Elisabeth—mors Mariæ." She was weary of solitude and of imprisonment. Her mind was restless to conceive plans for her restoration to dignity of station; her devotion to her faith made her ardent; her spirit of adventure, the sense of wrong, the strong current of passion which bore along the settled purpose of her mind, all conjoined to urge her to seek the means and to encourage every hope for her liberation. For this end also it was natural and just that the Catholic party should combine. They plotted for their religion, the deposition of Elizabeth, and her life. The cause of the Catholic faith was theirs, and with that cause the life or death of Mary was inexorably combined. Let the case be considered in relation to Elizabeth and the Protestants. When the conspiracy of Babington was known, and the conviction of Mary's guilt was universal, the stern deep cry of "DEATH" arose and swelled hoarsely across the land. It was echoed back by the Council, repeated and ratified by Parliament; the hate of the "Association" sent it in its thrilling strength from city to city, through every hamlet, into every household. At no time was religious hate sterner, at no time the conviction of public danger stronger. Every day brought with it fresh rumours to increase the cruelty of hate, made sharper

still by fear. The Spaniards had landed at Milford Haven. The Catholics had joined them. Fotheringay Castle was attacked. Mary was free. The northern counties were in rebellion. A new conspiracy in the train of L'Aubespine had been discovered, to fire London and assassinate Elizabeth. When, therefore, the death of Mary was determined, the utmost joy prevailed. The bells were rung, bonfires were lighted in the streets, even before the windows of the French Ambassador. Mary had but little to expect from the shallow false aid of the French Court. From her own son she might have hoped some sense of duty, some desire to save. But when this so-called Scottish Solomon—as being the son of *David*—heard of the trial, he simply remarked, "Mary must drink the ale she had brewed." When he consulted his council, the Earl of Bothwell told him roundly he deserved to be hanged the day after, if he allowed the execution to take place. He sent the Master of Gray to Elizabeth, and Gray played the part of Judas unto Pilate. He desired the clergy of Scotland to pray for Mary's safety;—they refused unless under the Spirit of God. When Shrewsbury announced to Mary the hour she was to suffer, she asked, "If her son had forgotten his mother in her distress?" Now the son had heard it was part of his mother's plan to depose him and constrain him to be a Catholic. True, he threatened to avenge her execution; but the glimmer of the crown of the coming years induced forgetfulness. He was needy, and he took gold from

the woman who had shed his mother's blood. In all history there is no more touching scene of dignified sorrow, of the grandeur of mind which controls the agony, and the resignation which disarms the terrors of death, than the last hours of Mary Stuart. She died for her religion with a martyr's faith; the fitful suffering of the hour over—

> "Rifatta sì, come piante novelle
> Rinnovellate di novella fronda,
> Pura e disposta a salire alle stelle."

Refused the sacred consolation of her own Church, she was by a refined cruelty exposed as life rushed on to its close to the fanaticism of a church of which she had been the consistent enemy, and was now the victim. Her spirit soared beyond this troubled sense of earth. She stood apart. She prayed for Christ's church, for her son, and for Elizabeth. With the holy symbol of her faith upheld before her, her eyes upturned as in the presence of the Eternal, her voice of anguish and of repentance rose clear and calm unto heaven. "As Thy arms, O God, were stretched out upon the cross, so receive me into Thy mercy, and forgive me my sins." There was silence as from the pain and oppression of grief, and of a terrible fear upon the heart. It was broken by the coarse brutality of the Earl of Kent, and the cry of nature which vainly wailed in utterance around. And once again that clear, calm, thrilling voice of supplication was heard: "Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." For a moment there was that deep stillness

of awe which bears down almost the sense of the actual: nought was heard but the sound of the wintry wind as it swept in sighing gusts against the walls of Fotheringay. A dark figure broke the grey light which fell with feeble shimmer on the scaffold draped in black. The bright edge of the axe gleamed, and the heart shrunk back at the sound of a heavy blow. Nature, cruel in sorrow, had dimmed the eyes of the headsman. And again the axe gleamed on high, and fell now in mercy. The headsman stooped —the beautiful features of Mary Stuart, the pride of the French Court, the theme of the poet, the boast of chivalry, were raised and upheld, convulsed, unrecognized, from amid the flowing pool of gore.

"So perish the enemies of Elizabeth!" said the Dean of Peterborough.

"So perish the enemies of the Gospel!" said the Earl of Kent.

Not a voice responded. Yet surely it may be thought that faith and mercy whispered—her soul was borne up to heaven by the angel ministrants of expiation. It is impossible to refute the evidence of her connivance with Darnley's murder. It is impossible to forego the conviction of her adulterous intercourse with Bothwell. It is impossible to defend the shameless marriage to conceal her shame. After all the acute intelligence and laboured researches of party spirit, the adverse evidence of her letters remains unrefuted. It may be that all are not genuine. It may be possible to imitate style, to simulate feel-

ing, but it is not possible to narrate events which could be known but to two, but which are confirmed by testimony, accidental and independent. And who can imitate the voice of Nature in those tones of fear, of tenderness, and of affection which vibrate in such varied notes of touching melody in a woman's heart? These proofs against her were produced at York. Was there a man amongst those stern, rude, and uncultivated Scotch leaders equal to the forgery? Was such baseness in the nature of men, who had struck Mary Stuart down less by their power than by the conviction of her crime? Were not the documents placed before those to whom her handwriting was familiar? Detection could not have restored the Queen of Scots to her throne, but the conviction that the documents were false would have made Murray and his coadjutors infamous. De Thou, Robertson, Hume, Hallam, Ranke, and Raumer confirm the evidence of these letters, and against such witnesses what verdict can be returned? The conviction of her guilt was heavy in the world. It was feared by the Spanish Ambassador, and by the Duke of Norfolk, shared by the French, and only mitigated by the knowledge of the worthlessness of the boy-king she had stooped to raise. True, he deserved to die. In that hour, when Ruthven, stricken with the pallor of death, hectic with the flush of passion, stood before her, as an apparition of evil, she had vowed revenge. He deserved to die. Darnley had dishonoured her by his suspicions; he spared her not, at a time when

Nature is most impressive even upon the brute, and when man is most moved in tenderness towards woman. To her he was base as a conspirator, baser as the informer against those with whom he had conspired. She had a woman's appreciation of the strong mind; and, brave herself, a noble estimation of the brave. She wrung from him the degrading confession of his guilt, and then flung him from her, to be the very scorn of her grooms. He deserved to die,—but not so,—not betrayed by feigned affection, helpless and ill at ease unto his murderer's hand, signed unto death by the kiss of the adulteress. But so great were her temptations, so severe her trials, so stern her destiny, that even now, after the long lapse of ages, the spectator turns from her tomb with reluctant sorrow, and silently unto himself whispers the prayer—May God assoilze her!

The memory of Elizabeth, on the other hand, is dear to us as that of a great Queen. If we value the condition of England now, we return to her with grateful pride. If we value devotion to public duty, the courage to defend, and the mind to comprehend the varied interests of a State, our sense of gratitude and of pride increases. She lived in the isolation of grandeur, haughty and imperious. Too proud to endure an equal, or to stoop to an inferior, she would not marry. Vain, and fond of admiration, she could not even in the wreck of age resist the feigned affection of a suitor. Nor could she forego affection. Her intrigue with Leicester, it will be seen from

these Documents, perilled her possession of the throne and alienated the attachment of her people. Yet, in the after age, which weighs unimpassioned the characters of rulers, opinion turns with respect unto her memory. She presided over the destinies of England in an age the most remarkable in the annals of civilization. The spirit of commerce, the excited ambition of new worlds to conquer, encouraged the enterprise of the merchant, and aroused the energy of the noblest and most daring spirits of the land. The lust of gain, the pride of naval supremacy, deep hatred of the Spaniard, led to those piratical expeditions of Sir John Hawkins and of Sir Francis Drake, which created that noble maritime chivalry which broke the "Invincible Armada." At the accession of Elizabeth, and fostered by her appreciation, learning at the Universities began to revive. Inspired by the energy of the Geneva exiles, it became a living influence among the people. Not learning which fettered the mind by an unreasoning idolatry of Classical excellence, but which, nourished by its intellectual predominance, careered in the freedom of conscious power, and achieved the glories of the Romantic school. High courage, faith in the future, the firm resolution as of those "apt to revel in peace and ride in war," were characteristic of the men of the day. The English language suffered by foreign influence, yet gained in fulness, copiousness, and strength, and grew up the lofty utterance of the mind of Shakespeare, Burleigh, Raleigh, Spenser, and of Bacon. The condition of all

classes gradually improved. The associations, the traditions of the past, were destroyed; but men pressed onwards, buoyed up with the conviction, the seeds of the truths they held would become the harvest of the future. It has been so. If we consider the danger to which England was exposed, the fierce zeal of the time, the growing antagonism to the authority of the Crown, the strong current of life which impelled action, and then recall the manner in which Elizabeth presided over all, controlled passion and governed Event, our minds must dwell proudly upon one whose character, sullied with many faults, is yet redeemed by great qualities, which made her the protector of that intellectual and moral freedom, to which England owes her unequalled social condition, and an empire greater than the Roman.

DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO THE

REIGN OF ELIZABETH,

1558–1568.

A.D. 1558.

When Philip the Second was in Flanders, occupied with the conduct of the war against the King of France, and relying upon aid from England, about which he had given instructions, he received information at the same time of the loss of Calais and the expected confinement of Queen Mary. The fall of Calais caused in England great excitement. It was said to be the result of the policy of making common cause with Spain, and feeling rose high against Philip. On these accounts the Count de Feria [Don Gomez Suarez de Figueroa, created Duke 28th Sept., 1567] was sent immediately to London. He was to express his gratulations to the Queen on her condition; that no other news could impart to Philip so much pleasure; that it alleviated the loss of Calais; and to endeavour to impress upon the English, that even had there been no alliance between the Courts, Calais would have been attacked. It was a plan meditated for more than four years, which Philip knew the Constable of France had confidentially avowed. [Dispatch, Brussels, Jan. 21, 1558.] A.D. 1558. Jan. 21.

The Parliament met at Westminster, [Saturday] November 5th,[1] formed of a great number of prelates, nobles, knights, and deputies of the cities and towns of the kingdom. The Treasurer [Marquis of Winchester] and the Lord High Admiral [Edward Clinton] were among these, and although others sought to excuse their attendance, they Nov. 5.

[1] Parry, p. 213.

A.D. 1558. were summarily summoned to consider urgent matters—peace or war, and, above all, the succession to the throne, should Queen Mary die childless. She was then dangerously ill, and all symptoms of pregnancy had disappeared.

Nov. 7. On the 7th November the councillor Dasson-Levile wrote to Philip, recommending the appointment of the Count de Feria, who was much esteemed in England, and advised him that upon the 6th, among other matters of political import, they had especially pressed upon the Queen to declare Elizabeth her successor.[2] To this Mary had given her ready assent, subject to two requisitions: that Elizabeth would maintain the Catholic religion as she had restored it, and

Nov. 9. discharge all her debts.[3] Upon November 9th, the Count de Feria arrived in London, and found the Queen given up by her medical attendants. She was unable to read the letter addressed to her by Philip.[4]

At De Feria's instance, and in compliance with his instructions, a council was called. All the members of it were present, except the Earl of Pembroke and Lord Paget, who was ill. The Ambassador addressed them upon the affairs with France, and because Sir John Mason was present, whom he knew to be the confidant of Elizabeth, he dwelt on the satisfaction which Philip would feel when he heard that the succession to the Crown had been declared in her favour.

[2] Dasson-Levile, or Assonleville. He was of the King's Council of State. Strype describes him as ambassador, which is inaccurate. It is very probable that it is to this letter Philip refers in his undated reply to one from Cardinal Granvelle, December 8, 1558, in which he says, "estas cartas viniéron de Dassonlevila," and gives various instructions in his regard. The Apostillas of Philip upon Granvelle's letter of 14th December, 1558, are of much interest. Granvelle, v. 381, 383.

[3] Madden, pp. clxxxv. ccii. Sandys to Bullenger, Zurich Letters, Parker Society. Strickland, vi. 142. Froude, vi. 527. Mem. Howard Fam. Suppl. 13, *note*.

[4] Strickland, v. 442. Turnbull, State Papers, ii. 405.

It was a measure his Majesty had always desired, and which A.D. 1558.
in his opinion had been too long delayed. As a proof of this, he was accredited to Elizabeth upon Philip's part, to act towards her as his good sister, to serve her on all occasions, and to employ every effort to enable her to ascend the throne, free from the disquiet which might be feared to arise at this time, from the designs of some enemies of the Crown and of the kingdom. The Council, however, appeared very doubtful of the course that Elizabeth would take, for De Feria says, "They received me as a man who came accredited with the Bulls of a dead Pope" (*como á hombre que iba con bulas de Papa muerto*). Upon November 10th, he Nov. 10.
visited Elizabeth, then at the house of the Admiral [Lord Clinton], about thirteen miles from London [at Hatfield].[5] She received him well, but not so cordially as she had done. He supped with her and with the wife of the Admiral, who was present. He conversed with her according to the secret instructions he had received from Philip. Elizabeth expressed her satisfaction at his visit, and her gratitude to Philip, to whom she was much indebted—1stly. Because during her imprisonment the King had favoured and greatly aided her. 2ndly. For the uninterrupted friendship which had existed between the House of Burgundy and that of England. 3rdly. Because, not only through him, but through Don Diego de Acevedo, and Don Alonso de Cordova, the King, his master, had always assured her of his friendly offices. De Feria tried to persuade her that the announcement of her succession was not owing either to the Queen, or to the Council,—but to Philip. He described her as a woman very vain and very acute, and greatly impressed with her father's course of action.[6] He feared much, she would not act well as re-

[5] Strickland, vi. 140, 141.

[6] "Débenle de haber predicado mucho la manera de proceder del Rey su Padre." Aikin, i. 251. Strickland, vi. 141.

A.D. 1558. garded religion, because he foresaw her inclination to be influenced by those councillors who were suspected of heresy, and they told him the women around her were all similarly inclined. She expressed great indignation at the treatment she had endured during the Queen's life, declared she owed her crown, not to Philip, not to the Peers, who had assured her of their fidelity, but to the attachment of the people of England, to whom she seemed much devoted.[7] He adds, every traitor and heretic seems to have arisen from his tomb to welcome her accession. He then describes the councillors in whom she appeared to have most confidence. These were—the Chancellor [Archbishop Heath], Lord William Paget [Keeper of the Privy Seal], Sir William Petre [Chancellor of the Order of the Garter], but particularly Sir John Mason [Treasurer of the Chamber], but he intimates also her resolution to be governed by—no one. He mentions *Dr. Wonton*[8] as high in the Queen's favour, and adds, "Parécome que deberia V. M. envialle muy contento, y darle alguna pension." Elizabeth spoke to him as to the character of several nobles, and laughed with him at the idea of her marriage with the Earl of Arundel.[9] She was on very bad terms with the Earl of Pembroke, the Bishop of Ely, and others, but especially with Cardinal Pole, of whom she spoke with great bitterness; and he feared he would feel her resentment. He tried to mitigate

[7] Ranke, Geschichte, i. 296.

[8] This is no doubt Dr. Wotton, Dean of Canterbury and York, Commissioner with the Earl of Arundel and the Bishop of Ely, for the Treaty of Cambresis. He is often alluded to as Dr. Vothon, or Wothon, in the Granvelle papers. He died in 1567, and was buried at Canterbury. Whether he was gratified by the recommendation does not appear. De Feria mentions many others more or less in favour with the Queen. Strype, A., i. pt. ii. 246. Lodge, i. 411.

[9] Raumer, Beiträge, i. 45. Aikin, i. 278, 296. Granvelle, v. 262. Strickland, vi. 188, 190. Froude, vii. 44. Ranke, Geschichte, i. 304, note.

the feeling without appearing to protect him, but as one A.D. 1558.
solely swayed by zeal towards her and the good government of her estate.[10] He advised her to restrain all inclination of revenge; suggested that, as regarded religion, it would be highly impolitic to make any demonstration, since all indulged the hope she would prove to be a good Catholic Princess. She answered, she desired only to make these councillors aware of their acts, and then to pardon. Speaking of other councillors, who were in favour, as the Earl of Bedford, Leicester, etc., he adds—they tell me, Cecil will certainly be Secretary; he is a man of intellectual power and moral worth, but a heretic. Gonzalez Perez knew him intimately; he was his guest here.[11] Elizabeth complained greatly of her sister's illiberality; inasmuch as she had only enjoyed an income of three thousand pounds, and said she knew that Philip had received much more. The Count denied this,—but it was true—for the Queen had given him at one time seven thousand pounds and valuable jewels, wherewith to pay some German troops. He sounded her upon marriage; and was told, she was aware that Philip had sought to marry her with the Duke of Savoy, but that Mary had suffered in public opinion by marriage with a foreigner. To this, he replied evasively. Speaking afterwards with Lord Paget, who was ill of the Quartan, upon the same theme, he said, that for his part he would have nothing to do with the matter; he had meddled with the marriage of Queen Mary with Philip, and had thereby suffered. Now, although De Feria told him he had no authority to treat on

[10] Strype, A., i. pt. i. 72. Phillips's 'Pole,' ii. 277. Lingard, v. 526. Froude, vi. 526.

[11] Gonzalez Perez was born at Monreal d'Ariza, in Arragon; Secretary of State to Charles V. and Philip II. He died in 1567. Antonio Perez was his natural son. Granvelle, vi. 450. Llorente, iii. 368. Mignet, page 10.

A.D. 1558. such matters, there was no doubt he had, in case of the Queen's death. Every day, the current of public opinion set more strongly against Philip. The Council, and the most leading men showed themselves equally adverse, and spoke in a high tone, "Que en vez de tener que contar ellos con él, tendria él que contar con ellos." Although even the Queen [Mary] assured De Feria, that if the Commissioners signed the treaty of peace without the surrender of Calais, she would have their heads (*les cortaría la cabeza*) the Count
Nov. 13. asserted in his dispatch of the 13th of November, that nevertheless, all the Ministers of State held that peace should be signed even without this stipulation; and by this means they sought to increase and to direct the general indignation against Philip. He also accused the Council of gross venality.[12] Extreme unction was administered to the Queen at
Nov. 17. twelve o'clock at night. She died on the 17th November at six in the morning.[13] Symptoms of disrespect were instantly shown, both to images and to religious fraternities. Cardinal Pole died on the night of the same day.[14] His effects were instantly seized (*embargados*) by the Queen's orders, given to the Earl of Rutland, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, and Sir Gawen Carew.[15]

[12] This is entirely in the Tudor style, and more natural than the sentimental exclamation attributed to her. But upon her and her Council rests the shame of the loss of Calais. Compare Mackintosh, ii. 227. Froude, vi. 527. As regards the gross venality, it arose probably from the donations made by Philip after his marriage with Mary.

[13] Machyn's Diary, 178. Madden, clxv.

[14] There is some discrepancy as to the time and the date. On November 19th, Priuli thanks the Queen for her attention to the memory of his late master. It is most probable it took place on the morning of the 18th. Machyn's Diary, 178, 181, and notes, page 368. Phillips's 'Pole,' ii. 279. Lemon, p. 115. Strype, A., i. pt. i. 52.

[15] This is erroneous. The Queen's coronation was at hand. An order was given to the Customers to stay all crimson-coloured silk which

Parliament was dissolved; Elizabeth proclaimed; the chief officers of state nominated. A.D. 1558.

Rumours were now prevalent that Philip had exhausted the exchequer, that for this cause Calais was lost, and that the Queen had died of grief, the consequence of his indifference.

Some of the Council now mooted the question of the marriage of Elizabeth with the Archduke Ferdinand.

The late Queen had made many testamentary dispositions, but, according to the custom of the country, these were not carried into effect, except according to the orders of the Council.[16]

should come within their ports until the Queen should first have her choice. At the same time, Priuli, the Cardinal's executor, was entreated by the Council to suffer certain parcels of the Cardinal's plate which were thought meetest, to be bought, for which he was to receive the value. An inventory was taken of the Cardinal's effects. The legacies appear to have been paid. The inquiry was probably directed as to the Church lands he held. Documents, November 18, 19, 21. Lemon, State Papers, 115. Strype, A., i. pt. i. 40, 53, 54. Phillips's 'Pole,' ii. 275, 277. Burnet, ii. pt. i. 741.

[16] In reply to Granvelle's letter, December 8th, 1558, Philip writes—"You will also see the copy of the Will which the Queen sent me; although I do not know whether this may be still valid, or whether she afterwards made another." He thinks he was therein named executor, and desires he may be informed of any duty he may have to discharge." This is the Will, April 30th, 1558. Granvelle replies:—He found, after much anxious search, the Will was in the care of Gonzalo Perez, to whom he returned it for the copy to be made for De Feria. The Will does not appear to be in good form, being based on the supposition of the Queen's pregnancy. He fears the Queen will prefer a claim as heiress of her father; and therefore, that it will be held void. He alludes to the difficulty of paying the legacies. He then notices "the Count writes there is another Will drawn up in the form used by the Sovereigns of England"—"que es harto ruyn"—which is vilely bad. This is probably the Codicil, 28th October, 1558. The Apostillas of Philip are of interest; he alludes to the jewels Mary had bequeathed

A.D. 1558. Nov. 22. Elizabeth arrived in London [from Hatfield] upon 22nd November [Lodge says the 23rd], and stopped at the house of Lord North, which had been the Carthusian Monastery [the Charterhouse], near to the place "de los Caballeros."[17] She had previously written from Hatfield House, on the 22nd, a Latin letter, very elegantly expressed, in which she announced to Philip the death of Queen Mary; that she had succeeded to the throne as the undoubted legitimate daughter of Henry VIII., had accredited Lord Cobham [Nov. 23] "á darle el pésame" personally, and to assure him that as a good sister and relation, she pledged her royal honour to maintain with him and his estates the good harmony and alliance of her progenitors.[18]

Nov. 23.

The people greeted her upon her entry [into the City] with general acclamation; and she showed far more feeling towards them than to the nobility.

Sir Thomas Chaloner was sent to the Emperor [Ferdinand] to notify her accession.[19]

him. The Will may yet exist at Simancas. Compare Madden, clxviii., clxx., clxxxv., ccv. Granvelle, v. 385, 387, 397. Strickland, v. 446.

[17] Compare Strickland, vi. 150. Bruce's Note, Hayward's Annals, 9, 10. Strype, A., i. pt. i. 14. Lodge, i. 369. Machyn, 179. Holinshed, iv. 156. Aikin, i. 237.

[18] William Brook, Lord Cobham, died 1596. Granvelle, December 8th, 1558, informs Philip that my Lord Cobham having nothing further to communicate is anxious to return to England, and awaits only his Majesty's permission and the customary present. Philip, in reply, wishes to know of what value the chain should be which is given in accordance with diplomatic usage. Granvelle states this at 900 to 1000 crowns, and according to the Ambassador's rank 1,500 or 2,000 crowns. A chain was ordered by Philip for 800 crowns, with permission to increase the amount to 1000; but Granvelle left the order unchanged—"pareciéndome bastará por agora, pues no parece que este será hombre de muchos negocios." Strype, Mem., iii. pt. ii. 143; A., iv. 376. Granvelle, v. 379, 380, 383, 397.

[19] Aikin, i. 284.

The Bishop of Ely was deposed as Dean of the Chapel Royal, and the Archdeacon of Exeter appointed. A.D. 1558.

Queen Mary had ordered the tomb raised to the memory of Henry VIII. to be destroyed; Elizabeth directed its restoration.[20]

Philip now became anxious with regard to the many important questions at issue, and by a dispatch, dated November 25th, from the monastery of Grumendal, appointed Don Alvaro de la Cuadra, Bishop of Aquila, to proceed to London, and aid De Feria in his duties. The Bishop arrived on the 7th of December,[21] the Earl of Arundel with him; who at once indicated his ambitious views, presented himself at Court, and was graciously received. Nov. 25. Dec. 7.

The Queen dismissed the late Councillors of the Crown,[22] but showed particular attention to the Marquis of Northampton, even to the extent of stopping on horseback to speak to him under his window. The Catholics foresaw the coming changes, but did not venture to speak; the spies were numerous and active, and the Queen acted with great confi-

[20] This statement appears to want direct authority. Edward VI. had ordered a tomb to be "set upp." It obtains some support from Dr. Weston's accusation (if true?) against the clergy of Queen Mary, "that it was a purpose of theirs to have digged up the body of King Henry at Windsor, and burned it for a heretic." There is an elaborate account of the tomb in Speed, and of the funeral in Gough. Gough, Sep. Mon., ii. pt. i. p. cli. Strype, Mem., iii. pt. ii. 65. Strype, A., i. pt. i. 41. Sandford, 494. Speed, 1037–1038. Ashmole, Berks, iii. 200. Ranke, Geschichte, i. 298.

[21] This date does not entirely correspond with a passage in Philip's reply to Granvelle, December 14, 1558. "Mas él es necessario para el Conde (De Feria), á lo menos fasta á tiempo que sea llegado el Obispo de Laquila." He was not then aware apparently of his arrival in London. Granvelle, v. 383.

[22] "Isabel no solo apartó de su lado, sino que confinó á todos los que servian en cosas públicas en tiempo de Felipe."

A.D. 1558. dence and resolution. Lord Paget did not meet such kind treatment as he expected. The Council were divided with respect to the Queen's marriage. As regarded Arundel and others of the nobility the idea was discarded, but whispers arose touching Philip and his cousin the Archduke. They could not ascertain whether Philip was indifferent or not as to which of the two might be accepted; his agents were certainly instructed to sound opinion, but Philip was so unpopular that De Feria was compelled to act with the very greatest caution. One of the means proposed was to endeavour to persuade the Queen that the principal cause of the differences between Philip and Mary was jealousy. Mary thought he affected Elizabeth more than herself, etc.; but of this Philip disapproved, insisting solely on the fact that the interests of both kingdoms counselled the marriage.[23]

Aware of the covetousness of Elizabeth, Philip directed that all Queen Mary's jewels should be delivered to her; and he offered to her another large casket, his own property, which he had left at Huital [Whitehall], and of which he sent the key to De Feria.[24] Elizabeth accepted the gift. In consequence of this, and of her having given appointments to some of the retinue of Philip, but principally because she had repeatedly said in public she never would be French (*seria nunca Francesa*), the rumour ob-

[23] This statement is important. The story of the jealousy of Mary, and of its justification by the conduct of Philip, appears to have rested mainly upon a statement made by Thomas Cecil, first Earl of Exeter, to Bishop Goodman. Mr. Brewer allows its probability from the personal attractions of Elizabeth. It appears, however, to have been an official falsehood, from which Philip recoiled. Strickland, vi. 123. Goodman, i. 4, and note. Raumer, Geschichte, ii. 462, and the authorities there quoted.

[24] Strickland, vi. 142. Lingard, v. 525.

tained credit that either she would marry Philip,—or as he advised. A.D. 1558.

The ambassadors of Sweden [December 16] who arrived in London at this time appeared also to devise a matrimonial alliance with the Court, but this was slighted (*no se les dió oido*).[25]

Many exiles suspected of heresy now returned from Germany.[26] Dec. 26.

Philip addressed to Elizabeth, on the 26th December [24th December], a very courteous and friendly reply to her letter, congratulating her upon her accession to the throne, etc.[27] Notwithstanding this, she showed much distrust both towards Philip and his agents, and treated them with great reserve, especially the Count de Feria, of whose pride she complained "como verdadero Español," and seemed desirous some other ambassador might be appointed.

The Reformers now took an active part in public affairs, and began to preach publicly their doctrines. For this purpose they availed themselves of the church of St. Augustine, which had been conceded to the Italians; and because they would not give up the keys, they broke open the doors, and began preaching on Christmas Day.[28] Dec. 25.

The Queen at Christmas (*un dia de Pascua*), desirous to attend Mass, sent to the Bishop of Carlisle (Oglethorpe) an order not to elevate the Host for adoration. The Bishop

[25] Strype, A., i. pt. i. 39. Stevenson, Calendar, ii. p. lxxxiii.

[26] Holinshed, iv. 179. Soames, iv. 613. Macaulay, i. 59.

[27] This date is incorrect. The letter, dated Bruselas, á 24 de Deciembre, is in Spanish, very courteous, and friendly in its terms. Granvelle, v. p. 405.

[28] The church of the late Augustine Friars was, in February, 1560, given over to the Bishop of London, for the use of strangers in London. Lemon, 150. Strype, A., i. pt. i. 59. Camden, Annals, i. 32.

A.D. 1558. replied,—she should be mistress of his body, his life, but not of his conscience. Whereupon the Queen left the chapel at the conclusion of the Gospel.[29] In consequence of this, the Count de Feria pressed constantly upon Philip to use all the influence possible with the Pope to declare her heretic and bastard, and to give her kingdom to Mary, Queen of Scots, who had many partisans in England.[30]

There was at this time a kind of mania for every one to support his opinions by prophecies or predictions. Some old prophecy was quoted to qualify or confirm every incident. According to some, Elizabeth would occupy the throne of Europe; others announced, she would die very soon, and that Philip would return to rule in England.[31]

Elizabeth caused the funeral ceremonies of her sister [Tuesday, December 13th, 1558], and that of the Emperor Charles V. [Christmas Eve, December 24], to be performed with great pomp and solemnity; but directed that the Lord's Prayer, and other prayers, and some portion of the Mass, should be said in English.[32]

[29] "La Reina se retiró concluido el Evangelio." It was at the Offertory, not at the Elevation, that she withdrew. Lingard, vi. 8. Ellis, Second Series, ii. 262. Lemon, March 4, 123. Strype, A., i. pt. i. 73. Ranke, Geschichte, i. 298. Strickland, vi. 155. Mackintosh, ii. 250.

[30] The Catholic clergy appear also to have publicly supported this course of policy. Strype, A., i. pt. i. 63.

[31] This custom was combined probably with the belief in sorcery and astrological predictions, common in this age. The prophesyings of the clergy were a source of much trouble to Elizabeth and her Bishops, though chiefly Scriptural expositions. Strype, A., i. pt. i. 10, 87. Strickland, vi. 121, 156.

[32] For an account of the ceremony, see Strickland, v. 444. Holinshed, iv. 158. Lemon, 117, according to which the interment was on the 14th December. Strype, A., i. pt. i. 45. Machyn, 182. Hayward, 12. Sandford, 506. Madden, clxvi. The Queen attended the

The Earl of Arundel took office as Lord High Treasurer, AD. 1558.
and Winchester that of Treasurer.

Towards the close of the year the subject of the marriage of the Queen with the Duke Adolphus [Duke of Holstein], brother of the King of Denmark, was discussed; but the Count [De Feria] flattered himself he had averted this, by representing the Duke to be a fervent Catholic.[33]

service, and White, Bishop of Winchester, preached a very insolent sermon, for which she ordered his arrest. Harington, 'Nugæ Antiquæ,' ii. 85. Strickland, vi. 153. Soames, iv. 617. Strype, A., i. pt. i. 48. For Charles V.'s funeral, see Holinshed, iv. 158. Strype, A., i. pt. i. 46, who says on the 23rd. Lemon, 117, 118. Machyn, 184. There is some difference as to the day.

[33] The question was revived March 20, 1560. "That he loved and was beloved" seems very doubtful. He was honourably received, flattered, and dismissed. The Duke wrote to her so late as 1563. Camden, Annals, i. 69. Lingard, vi. 66. Forbes, i. 443. Mackintosh, ii. 271. Gonzalez writes, "Presentando al Duque como gran Católico;" but compare this with his letter to Cecil, no. 1099, July 31, 1559. Stevenson, i. 432.

A.D. 1559.

During the negotiations for peace, the Courts of Spain and France sought to induce Elizabeth to marry according to their political interests. But she played her part so shrewdly, as to compromise both without advantage to either. The Count de Feria, although very distrustful, still indulged the hope of a decision in Philip's favour. Either personally, or through agents, he held private conferences with the confidants of the Queen. At times, it seems, they encouraged him, as they believed she held Philip in high regard. Political considerations made this probable. For should Philip marry a princess of France, the danger would be great to the kingdom. The revolt in the Netherlands, which the French cabinet insidiously encouraged, being suppressed, Philip, thus free from internal commotions in his estates, could direct his power in aid of the Scots, and support the claims to the succession to the throne asserted by the House of Stuart, and the pretensions of the Dauphiness [Mary Stuart], based on the bastardy of Elizabeth, and her defection from the Roman faith. The question lingered. Philip at last, whether from natural inclination towards Elizabeth, or in compliance with the policy recommended by the ambassador, the Duke of Alva, and others, or from his sincere desire to re-establish the Roman Catholic religion in England, and through peace to secure Flanders from all hostile aid, and to protect the trade from Spain to South America, now become

important, from the piracy of English cruisers, determined to open a formal negotiation of marriage, and directed the ambassador, in a ciphered dispatch, dated Brussels, January 10, 1559, countersigned by the Secretary of State, Gonzalo Perez, father of Antonio Perez, to carry his resolution into effect.[1] In this document, he sets forth that, all temporal considerations disregarded, he is induced to make this proposal, solely because he believes that by so doing he will acquit himself of a great duty towards God. The marriage could be solemnized only upon the following conditions:—The Queen must abjure all heretical errors whatsoever, and become a faithful Catholic if she be not one. That she must sue privately for absolution and dispensation from the Pope. That he shall not be required to reside in England, but only when without disadvantage to his other estates he could do so. That it should not be stipulated, if a son were born, the child should be heir to Flanders, for although this was done with Queen Mary, it could not on any account be now conceded,—not to prejudice the right of his son, Don Carlos (*por no perjudicar al Principe su hijo*). The Count was directed to make this proposal, prudently, openly, at a personal interview (*derechamente y cara á cara*), on no account in writing; and not to distrust its becoming known, for although honour is not risked by a proposal of marriage made to a woman, and not coming forth successful (*pues aunque no se aventura honra en requerir á una muger de casamiento, y no salirse con ello*),—yet doing this as I do, solely for the service of our Lord and the good of religion, with no temporal object, it is not a case in which to moot points of honour or of dignity, since I offer up all to this end. At the same time hopeful of success, and that thus the

A.D. 1559.

Jan. 10.

[1] Aikin, i. 258. Strickland, vi. 173. Strype, A., i. pt. i. 141. Lingard says the Spanish king was a wooer from policy: perhaps so;—but Philip expressly denied it in the clearest terms. Lingard, vi. 63.

A.D. 1559. war would be advantageously maintained by the aid of England against France, he pressed his agents to induce the English Cabinet to propose terms, which would be inadmissible, and yet always without making him appear in it whatever might be the issue.[2] The Count fulfilled his instructions. The proposal was not discouraged, since it appears she expressly said,—"That Parliament must be consulted; but Philip might be assured that—should she marry—he would be preferred to all." To this flattering speech Philip
Jan. 28. hopefully replied upon January 28th; he impressed upon her the advantage of his friendship, and gave expression to the interest he felt in the matter.

Parliament met on the 25th, and although it was the custom of the Abbot and Monks of Westminster to go forth in procession to meet the Sovereign, she commanded them not to do so.[3] Three questions were to be submitted, upon the advice of the Secretary Cecil, and the Duke of Bedford:—To reform or change religion. To repeal the laws recently passed. To ask for a vote of supply. Before it assembled, Elizabeth had been solemnly crowned. De Feria, under the pretence of ill-health, did not attend at the ceremony, as well from the fear of being present when some

[2] Sir James Mackintosh says—"All attempts have proved unsuccessful to recover the Count de Feria's proposition of marriage, or Carne's dispatches, containing the account of Caraffa's answer to Elizabeth." Mackintosh, ii. 269. Philip's letter to De Feria, upon which his proposition was founded, is printed by Gonzalez from the original dispatch. Documento, no. ii. 405. With respect to Caraffa's answer, see P. Sarpi, Hist. Trente, (Le Courayer,) ii. 49; Lingard, vi. 5; and Strype's account of Carne's recall, A., i. pt. i. 50.

[3] The Parliament was summoned for Monday, January 23rd, it was prorogued by Sir Nicholas Bacon to the 25th, owing to the Queen's indisposition. Abbot Feckenham sat the first day, but neither he nor any other Abbot or Prior afterwards. Parry, 214. Strickland, vi. 171. Holinshed, iv. 177. Strype, A., i., pt. i. 78.

irreverence might be shown to his religion, and also on account of the etiquette (*etiqueta de preferencia*) observed in the chapel.[4] He was told that upon her coronation Elizabeth received the sacrament *sub utraque specie*, which proved afterwards to be incorrect. A.D. 1559.

Among the members of the Cabinet a well-grounded suspicion arose, that the Queen entertained the thought of marriage with Philip, and they employed every means in their power to dissuade her from the act. They represented to her the suspicious character of the king, his religious intolerance, the unhappiness of Mary, the deplorable condition of his estates, the threatened rebellion in Flanders, the doctrines of the Reformers pullulating in Spain, France in arms against him, and his navy crippled. They added —she should remember her father had broken entirely with Spain, on account of his marriage with Catherine of Arragon, the wife of his brother Arthur, and that she should not seek to dishonour his memory by marriage with the husband of her sister.[5] The Catholics, aware of these suggestions, were alarmed at their position, and looked to Philip for relief from the injuries they endured.

When informed of the changes to be proposed in Parliament as regarded religion, Philip consulted the Duke of Alva, the Bishop of Arras, and the Count of Melito—stating that if such measures were legalized, he should withdraw the consideration of marriage, for if these were once sanctioned in Parliament, they could not be repealed except by convoking another, and as the Houses met only in winter it would much delay the proceedings. They all, especially the Duke, replied—the marriage ought not to take place until the Catholicity of the Queen had been first fully proved, but with respect to the remaining points, they did not attach to these

[4] Lingard, vi. 10. [5] Lingard, vi. 62. Wright, Elizabeth, i. 7.

A.D. 1559. much importance. Acting upon this advice, Philip wrote to De Feria, desiring him to press very earnestly upon the Queen the grave results which must ensue upon similar reforms and changes at the commencement of her reign, and to tell her plainly, if these were persisted in, he could not treat of marriage. The Count received the instructions
Feb. 17. on the 17th of February, and he urged as far as he could the proposals of Elizabeth, who however resolutely told him—she thought to remain unmarried, for she felt very scrupulous as regarded the dispensation of the Pope (*que pensaba estar sin casarse, porque tenia mucho escrúpulo en lo de la dispensa del Papa*). The Count advised the king of
Feb. 20. this reply on the 20th of February. It was suspected that during the negotiations, the French had proposed another match to Elizabeth, as it was known a certain Guido Cavalcanti had brought her a portrait with which she appeared much pleased.[6] The Count [George von Helfenstein, Baron of Gundelfingen] arrived in London about this time, and the Queen expressed her suspicions as to his motives. The Count knew well his mission, and therefore replied as if assured by Philip that his uncle, the Emperor, had sent him merely upon a complimentary visit (*no le enviaba sino á meros cumplimientos*).[7]

To make Philip thoroughly acquainted with what had occurred, particularly with the private conferences with the Queen, that the Parliament had declared her Head of the Church, etc., De Feria sent Don Alvaro de la Cuadra, Bishop of Aquila, secretly instructed to inform him personally of all. He was specially enjoined to do so, as regarded the decline of his proposals, and further that with regard to marriage the Queen had spoken in Parliament, stating it

[6] He was a Florentine merchant, much engaged in negotiations. Hayward, 35. Wright, i. 127. Strype, A., i. pt. i. 549. Froude, vii. 59.

[7] Strype, A., i. pt. i. 141. Teulet, ii. 129. Froude, vii. 199.

to be her wish to remain single; that the Parliament had affirmed her legitimacy, and had refused the tenths, denying the authority of the Pope. Although much annoyed by her decision, Philip showed no anger, and wrote to her on the 23rd (?) of March in very friendly terms. But the refusal rankled in his heart; the evident depression of the Catholic party, and the influence of the Court of Rome, combined alike to cause an angry estrangement. Among the reasons for her refusal of Philip, and upon which Elizabeth most insisted, were, that being a heretic (*siendo herética*) she could not marry him, and that she was resolved to restore religion precisely as it had been left by her father. That, although she would not assume the title of Head of the Church, she would not consent that money should be withdrawn for Rome, and that she would have the Act of Parliament sworn to by all who held public employments, although they might be ecclesiastics, and by the graduates of the Universities. To this all the Members of Parliament, except the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Montague, the Bishops, and the Abbot of Westminster [Feckenham], agreed.[8] The Bishops held a synod, in which they swore to die for the Catholic faith, and not to suffer such reforms and changes. To encourage them, and other Catholics who relied solely upon Philip, he sent to the Count sixty thousand crowns to distribute among them. A.D. 1559.

On the 19th of March, *Harman* (*sic*) [Sir George Howard, Knt.] arrived in London with the news that the preliminaries of the treaty of Cambresis had been agreed to, which was celebrated with great rejoicings.* Mar. 19.

After this, and upon the pressing requests of De Feria regarding the religious questions at issue, Elizabeth ordered

[8] See Hallam's argument upon these measures, Const. Hist. i. 152. Macaulay's Essays, ii. Raumer, Geschichte, ii. 426. Strype, A., i. pt. i. 83, 86. Lingard, vi. 15. Froude, vii. 45. * See Appendix.

A.D. 1559. that several divines should assemble to dispute publicly upon the following questions:—1stly. Whether the celebration of the Divine offices, and the administration of the Sacraments, should be in the vulgar tongue? 2ndly. Whether a national Synod can institute new ceremonies and rites, and alter those in use? 3rdly. Whether it can be proved from Holy Writ, that the Mass is a sacrifice for the living and the dead? On the part of the Catholics appeared [Heath], Archbishop of York; the Bishop of *Wemminster* [John White, Bishop of Winchester]; "*El de Conles*" [Thomas Watson, Bishop of Lincoln]; [John de Feckenham] the Abbot of Westminster; "*Boolsall*" [Dr. John Boxall, Dean of Peterborough]; *Doctor Cool* [Henry Cole, Dean of St. Paul's]; *Doctor Harsfeld* [John Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury]; *Doctor Getsé* [William Chedsey, Archdeacon of Middlesex], and two others. On the part of the Protestants, *Doctor Coxe* [Dr. Richard Cox, Bishop of Ely]; *Gruyndal* [Edmund Grindal, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury]; *Horner* [Dr. Robert Horn, afterwards Bishop of Winchester]; *Aysshed* [David Whitehead]; *Gost* [Edmund Guest, Gest, or Gheast]; *Lever*, [Archdeacon Thomas?] [or, John Aylmer or Elmer, afterwards Bishop of London]; *Santon?* [Edwin Sandys?] and *Fewell* [John Jewell, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury]. The assembly was held in the choir of Westminster Abbey. The Catholics understood the subjects proposed were to be debated, but were told, "*por el Baguen*," (*sic*) [*i. e.* Lord-Keeper Bacon] by order of the Queen, that the discussion must be in writing, and in English, for which they were unprepared. In consequence of the objections urged by the Dean [of St. Paul's] and the Archdeacon of St. Paul's, and some of the Bishops, no progress could be made. They were not allowed to argue against the first article, but were compelled to write upon the second, and pressed to affirm it, which all refused to do except Fecken-

ham, the Abbot of Westminster, who said he would ac- A.D. 1559.
quiesce, as in obedience. The result was, that all the others were arrested, their property sequestered, and they were deprived of their dignities (*confiscadas sus haciendas y dignidades*).[9]

On the 7th of April Sir John Mason arrived with the April 7.
news of the final conclusion of the treaty of peace, and of the marriage of Philip with Isabel de Valois. Upon hearing this Elizabeth was much nettled, and told De Feria that his master could not have been much enamoured of her, since he had not had patience to hope for scarce four months. The Count replied, it was her fault. She denied this, saying, "She had never given a definite answer." To this De Feria assented, but added, "although the refusal was in a certain manner indirect, he had not sought so to press her as to bring her to the point of saying roundly No! to avoid all cause of anger between two such great Sovereigns."

The imprisonment of the Catholic bishops and divines caused so much excitement, that commotions were feared, both in Wales and Ireland; and it is a fact that in this year overtures were made to Philip, by the Irish, that he should name as King of Ireland some catholic member of his own family, who would be at once accepted and maintained to the uttermost; but he discouraged the proposal.

On the part of the King of Sweden, the proposal of the marriage of his son with the Queen was now renewed.[10]

According to a letter of the Count de Luna, the Spanish Minister at Vienna, it would appear that as soon as the

[9] Strype, A., i. pt. i. 129, 133, 139, 140. Lingard, vi. 15. Holinshed, iv. 180, 183. Hayward's Annals, 19–24. Froude, vii. 73–74. Machyn, 192, 280, 389. Dodd, ii. 136. Collier, ii. 414. Zurich Letters, 1st scr. 255.

[10] Hayward's Annals, 37. Aikin, i. 261. Machyn's Diary, 214.

A.D. 1559. Emperor knew that the proposal of Philip was declined, he sought to persuade him it would be advantageous to co-operate in effecting her marriage with one of his sons.[11] To this Philip cordially assented, and wrote to recommend it strongly to De Feria. To this, however, he was resolutely opposed, and constantly insisted that active measures should be taken to induce the Pope to declare Elizabeth a heretic, and deprive her of her kingdom. Nevertheless, the Queen declined the title of Head of the Church, for which that of Governess (*gobernadora*) was substituted.[12] The statute of Præmunire was renewed, and its clauses compelled to be sworn to, on pain of loss of goods and offices to all by whom the oath was refused, or who aided the recusants.[13]

The Emperor formally mooted the negotiation of a marriage with one of his sons, and sent to Elizabeth the portrait of the Archduke Ferdinand. But at this time my Lord Robert [Leicester] stood so high in the favour and confidence of the Queen, that it was publicly bruited about that his wife was sick (*enferma y mala de un pecho*), and that Elizabeth only awaited her death to marry her husband.[14] De Feria, vexed in some degree at the unsuccessful result of the principal object of his mission, now wrote to Philip, representing to him that even for the cause of religion, it would be better that he should be recalled. In this Philip

May 8. entirely concurred; and, by a dispatch dated May 8th, instructed him, that upon the close of the Parliamentary Session he should take leave of the Queen, presenting at

[11] Haynes's Letters, i. 216.

[12] Strickland, vi. 180. Aikin, i. 301.

[13] Hayward, 27. Lemon, 133. Lingard, vi. 14. Strype, A., i. pt. i. 101.

[14] Strickland, vi. 200, 203. Pettigrew, 'Inquiry into the Death of Amy Robsart,' 8vo, 1859. Aikin, i. 289. Lingard, vi. 69. Froude, vii. 148, 279.

the same time the Bishop of Aquila, whom he accredited as his successor.[15] To soften the appearance of his recall, from due regard to his position, it was pretended that the Count was one of the hostages named as the guarantee for the Treaty of Peace. A.D. 1559.

Upon the same day [May 8th] Parliament was dissolved; the Queen retaining the title of Governor of the Church.

The offices of the ritual were now read in the vulgar tongue; and although many Catholics sought to leave the kingdom to avoid all appearance of adhesion to such changes, permission was given to but very few, and this with difficulty.

It was at this time that *Peguerin* [Sir William Pickering] came to London, and was received with such evident favour by the Queen, that bets were current, 100 to 25, that he would be king.[16]

In obedience to the commands of the King, De Feria obtained a long and private conference at his audience of leave. He represented to her the serious results consequent upon the novelties introduced; and counselled her upon the part of Philip to leave religion as it was settled at the death of Mary. To this she answered privately (and these are the very words of the Count) "that she desired to establish in her kingdom the Augustine Confession of Faith, or another, but similar form (*ú otra cosa como aquella*). That she, in fact, differed but little from us [the Catholic faith], because she believed *Dios* [Christ] was present in the sacrifice of the Eucharist; and that in the Mass she disapproved of only two or three parts (*cosas*). That for herself, she thought to be saved quite as much as the Bishop of Rome.[17]

[15] Wright, Elizabeth, i. 8, 39.

[16] Aikin, i. 296. Strickland, vi. 181. Lingard, vi. 67.

[17] Strype, A., i. pt. i. 3. Lingard, vi. 22.

A.D. 1559. Some scurrilous plays were at this time represented in London, in which Philip had a notable part; and in which both his government and his policy were ridiculed. The argument of the play was attributed to some of the Members of Parliament. This, the Queen voluntarily offered to punish; but the ambassador told her neither the King nor he cared for such trifles.[18]

The Count was very anxious to know whether any proposal of marriage, especially with the Archduke, was now entertained; but, although through the means of spies who informed him of whatever passed even in the privacy (*hasta en el retraimiento*) of the Queen, he understood she *never could bear children*,[19] he nevertheless was of opinion that the union should be effected, inasmuch as admitting she should die childless he would remain King.

Upon St. George's Day the Queen conferred the Order of the Garter upon the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Rutland, and Lord Robert [Leicester].

In pressing upon Philip that energetic representations should be made at Rome to proceed against the Queen, De Feria pointed out to him, that, whilst, during the schism in the reign of Henry VIII., only two ecclesiastics in Parliament were opposed to his reform, now there was not one who supported her policy; and that in both chambers there had been many laymen who were similarly disposed. Upon
May 15. the 15th of May the Count had his audience of leave; and upon the 21st she addressed a long letter to Philip, highly commending his services, and intimating her desire that his

[18] See on these plays, Froude, vii. 82.

[19] This opinion was very general. Mary, Queen of Scots, was weak enough, or woman enough, to communicate it to Elizabeth, who possibly forgave her—as a Tudor. The genuineness of the letter has been doubted.

successor, the Bishop of Aquila, should be received with all due consideration.[20] A.D. 1559.

Upon Corpus Christi Day [May 23rd], the Count de Montmorenci was at the palace, and the treaty of peace with France was confirmed.[21] The Bishop of Aquila was not present, because the prayers were not in conformity with the Catholic ritual.

Upon the following day the Baron of Rabenstein[22] arrived with dispatches from the Emperor and a letter from Philip, proposing a marriage with the Archduke Charles. The envoy was received very honourably. In conversation she showed great annoyance at the proposal; saying, she did not wish to marry; much less with an overgrown man like the Archduke Ferdinand, (she misunderstood the proposal,) whom she was informed was a head taller than the Earl of Bedford; a man who knew only how to repeat prayers, nothing whatever about government; that, should she marry, she hoped to do so with a man of more masculine character; or if not—she would turn nun.[23] When her misconception was pointed out, and that it was the Archduke Carlos, September. and not Ferdinand who was suitor, she became calmer and changed her tone, but added, "she had no faith in artists, and before she expressed an opinion would prefer seeing the original." It was proposed to communicate this to the Emperor; but she answered—No. She did not wish to give so much trouble either to the Emperor or to his son, to see a woman so ugly as she was. It was rumoured in London that the *camerero* of the ambassador was in fact the

[20] Stevenson, Calendar, 699, 944.

[21] Machyn's Diary, 197, 198, 199, 373. Aikin, i. 270. Strype, A., i. pt. i. 285.

[22] Casper Preyner, Baron in Stibing, Fladnitz, and Rabenstein Stevenson, Nos. 630, 813, 814, 817, 872, 895.

[23] Froude, vii. 45.

A.D. 1559. Archduke in disguise; but it was well known at the embassy that this was a concerted trick to intimate that the Archduke could thus come incognito.[24]

The bishops were now required to take the civil oath; the Bishop of London [Bonner] refused, and his goods were sequestered. The same course was pursued towards Dr. Cole, the Dean of St. Paul's, and Feckenham, the Abbot of Westminster.[25] The abbot spoke to the ambassador of Spain, and told him the clergy were all ready to die rather than take the oath. Elizabeth now began to nominate dignitaries to the Church; and because there was some doubt whether a woman could take the title and exercise the functions of the "Head of the Church," it was arranged that the chapters of cathedrals should collate, institute, and consecrate those appointed by her, according to the recent authorized ceremonies. This was very different from that which obtained in the reigns of Henry VIII. and of Edward VI., since the nomination of the Crown was then alone sufficient. The
June 11. 11th of June, the Sacrament [Eucharist] was removed from the Cathedral of St. Paul.[26] The judges of England (*llamados de Inglaterra*) also refused to take the oath.[27] Sir Nicholas Bacon pressed repeatedly his resignation of the seals. The majority of the Council were of opinion that too much rigour was shown.

The religious orders (*los frailes*) were suppressed, and the monks for the most part left the kingdom.[28] Those of
July 12. Sion and the Carthusians took refuge at Louvain [July 12th].

The Queen granted to Leicester an annual sum of twelve thousand pounds as a gratuity (*de ayuda de costa*).

[24] Strickland, vi. 192. Lingard, vi. 64. Haynes, State Papers, i. 216. Froude, "Ferdinand," vii. 97; "Carlos," vii. 143.

[25] Strype, A., pt. i. 204, 208, 209, 215. Hayward's Annals, 27.

[26] Strype, A., i. pt. i. 254, 260, 287. [27] Froude, vii. 90.

[28] Strype, A., i. pt. i. 211. Machyn, 204.

The number of families fleeing from the persecution in the Low Countries was now excessive. A.D. 1559.

By a dispatch, dated Greenwich, July 6th, the Queen appointed Sir Thomas Chaloner, her ambassador to the Court of Spain.[29] July 6.

Upon the 9th Don Juan de Ayala departed from Ghent for London, to escort the Countess of Feria, who had remained there; and Philip desired him, as before he had De Cuadra, to make the Queen clearly understand "that he could not approve the changes in her government, especially as regarded religion; and that, as her good brother (*buen hermano*), he counselled her to restore all things as they were at her accession." The death of the King of France, which occurred at this time, and with whose aid Philip hoped to coerce Elizabeth to adopt his views, disconcerted all his plans.[30] July 9.

A friar of the religious order of La Merced (*un fraile mercenario*), Fr. Rodrigo Guerrero, came about this time to London, fleeing from the Inquisition of Spain; he was promised a professor's chair (*una cátedra*) at Oxford, but returned to Spain on the promise of protection from the King.[31]

Philip re-claimed the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece which Henry VIII. had borne, and it was returned in conformity with the statutes of the Order.[32] July 9.

Don Juan de Ayala arrived in London on the 12th; and although in accord with the ambassador he forbore to address Elizabeth as Philip had ordered, he now did so, in conformity with his pressing injunctions; but the remon- July 12.

[29] Aikin, i. 285. Wright's Elizabeth, i. 5.

[30] See account of funeral ceremonies, Strype, A., i. pt. i. 187.

[31] See some interesting details upon Spanish Protestants in Strype, A., i. pt. i. 354–357.

[32] Stevenson, Calendar, No. 962.

A.D. 1559. strance was useless,—so useless, that on the 13th of August
July 26. they removed the crosses, statues and altars from all the
August 13. churches.[33] The Bishops of Sandwich (*sic*)* and Exeter [Dr. Turberville] were deposed. The Bishop of Durham [Cuthbert Tunstall], deprived September 29th, who was very old, tried to persuade Elizabeth that her father had enjoined in his will the maintenance of Catholicism, at which the Council laughed, and he met only with derision.[34] Church property was now sold; and with the returns and taxes levied, exceeding four hundred thousand ducats, and a loan raised in Florence, the demands on the exchequer were met.

August 26. About the middle of August [26th], Philip, against the advice of his council, embarked at [Flushing] to return to Spain. The naval force which escorted him was powerful (in all ninety vessels) and caused anxiety in England. Orders were therefore given for the sea-coast and arsenals to be put in a state of defence.[35]

The Duchess of Parma was left Governess of Flanders, and from the hour of Philip's departure Elizabeth and her ministers felt themselves safe. For neither the Duchess nor De Cuadra could conduct affairs with the watchful sagacity of the King, nor with the ability and courtesy of De Feria. On the 8th of September Philip arrived at Laredo.

The marriage of the Queen with the Archduke Charles was still discussed; but whenever pressed to give a direct reply as to her desire to see him, she constantly refused to do so; and so she openly wrote to Philip upon the 3rd of October.

October 3. Elizabeth now ordered the cross and candles to be replaced in her chapel as before. This caused some disagreement with her Council.[36] She said they had caused

[33] Wright's Elizabeth, i. 23. Stevenson, Calendar, nos. 1082, 1307.
[34] Strype, A., i. pt. i. 211, 213. Froude, vii. 87. Machyn, 204, 238.
[35] Stevenson, Calendar, nos. 1174, 1175, 1258.
[36] Froude, vii. 145. * See Appendix.

her to adopt measures which had met with general disapprobation, and that the order to burn all statues and pictures had created great discontent, especially in Wales and in the North. The motive for this was suspected to be the state of affairs as regarded the Archduke; because, according to all the confidential information of that day, it was fully believed that he would be accepted if the Emperor should consent to let him come. But to this Philip was opposed, and advised his uncle never to allow him to come,—except solemnly betrothed; for otherwise, if detained, he might become a hostage, which would cause great embarrassment. It is a fact, that at the same time there were in London no less than twelve ambassadors, all of whom represented different interests as regarded the marriage of Elizabeth. The son of the King of Sweden, one of the suitors for Elizabeth's hand, affronted by being kept waiting in an anteroom of the palace, quitted it without a word, and did not again appear at Court. A.D. 1559.

Elizabeth was now much disquieted by the intrigues of the courtiers, especially against Leicester, and great divisions existed in the Council. Amid these troubles the presence of a powerful force of French troops in Scotland caused a general anxiety, insomuch that the Council sought very earnestly to induce Elizabeth to marry, as a measure of public policy,—submitting to her consideration Don Carlos, the eldest son of Philip, towards which end a special ambassador was to be appointed.

A.D. 1560.

In consequence of the events in Scotland, the increase of the French army, and the accredited reports of their intention to seize Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight, great preparations, both by sea and land, were made. The Duke of Norfolk was sent to the frontiers. Many Frenchmen were arrested in England. Elizabeth threatened never to lay down arms until the King of France should evacuate Scotland, surrender the chiefs of the rebellion, and cease to entitle himself King of England. Finally, the Queen adopted the advice of Paget, to rely chiefly upon the friendly co-operation of Philip. For this end special ambassadors, viz. Viscount Montague and Sir Thomas Chamberlain,
Jan. 30. Knight, Ambassador Ledger, were accredited [January 30] with secret instructions to assure him that reasonable proposals would be made as regarded religious affairs, but with this restriction,—that they were not to commit themselves by definite terms.[1]

Jan. 22. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton was sent to France as Ambassador Extraordinary, his mission being chiefly to unite himself with the Huguenot party.[2] At the same time, Elizabeth very adroitly compelled the appearance of the most suspected of the Catholic party,—and among others, that of

[1] Wright's Elizabeth, i. 38, 49. Machyn's Diary, 216, 225. Strype, A., i. pt. i. 294. Froude, vii. 192.

[2] Lingard, vi. 47. Forbes, i. 307, 317. Wright's Elizabeth, i. 32.

the Earl of Salisbury, the Duke of Northumberland, and El Caballero Chamberlan [*i. e.* George Chambrelayne].[3] A.D. 1560.

The Emperor sent a special ambassador (*el Baron Preimer*),[4] to press the Queen to declare formally her resolution, Ay or No, as regarded her marriage with the Archduke Charles.[5] Elizabeth, on the 11th January, replied in a very courteous letter, but stated she had no inclination towards marriage,—a decision not recently formed, but which dated from the time of Queen Mary, when her freedom depended upon a great alliance which was proposed to her. M. de Glasson [Philippe de Stable, Seigneur de Glajon] was sent by Philip to Elizabeth, to dissuade her from giving aid to the Scotch malcontents.[6] March 27.

The Irish, suspicious of Philip, irritated by his delay to give them aid, entered into secret negotiations of alliance with the King of France. De Cuadra gave notice of this to the Duchess of Parma, through Dr. Turner,[7] adding that the Cabinet were distrustful of the Duke of Norfolk, and that the general desire of the English, considering the conduct of Elizabeth, was that [Darnley] the son of Lady *Lenis* [Lennox] should be called to the throne.[8]

The Reformers now preached publicly against the Pope; they called him Antichrist, and said that since the Gospel had the support of so great a crown as that of England, nothing remained but to enforce it by the sword.

The ambassadors of Philip arrived at Toledo, when Philip,

[3] This was doubtless Sir George Chambrelayne or Chamberlayn. He was apparently in communication with Lady Dormer, Countess Feria, etc. See Lemon, p. 163. Froude, vii. 16, 398.

[4] See page 61. [5] Haynes's Letters, i. 212.

[6] Cecil's reply to De Cuadra and M. de Glasson on these matters, April 11, 1560. Forbes, i. 387, 402. Haynes, i. 280–283. Teulet, ii. 82, 98. Granvelle, vi. 34.

[7] Froude, vii. 397. [8] Froude, vii. 200, 329.

A.D. 1560. somewhat indisposed, suffered the visitation of being both purged and bled. Upon his convalescence he referred them to the Duke of Alva. Their mission was to this effect, to obtain the co-operation of Spain against France. They were informed that the treaties between the Crowns contemplated the invasion of one or the other estate; no such condition existed, since England was the invader. The ambassadors were dismissed with flattering expressions, and Garcilaso de la Vega was dispatched to France to effect a transition as regards the affairs of Scotland. The Court of France charged Elizabeth as the fautor of the troubles in that kingdom, and of the changes in religion.

The persecution of the Catholics increased daily, in spite of the remonstrances of De Cuadra. In consequence of the conjoined representations to Elizabeth, made by him through M. de Glasson and Garcilaso de la Vega, Philip, for this and other reasons, determined to send Don Juan Pacheco, as Special Ambassador to Elizabeth. He was accredited on the 23rd June, and ordered to confer with the Duchess de Parma, and in London with De Cuadra and M. de Glasson, to press upon the Queen to desist from giving aid to the Scotch rebels, and to forbear all persecution of the Catholics, in which case he would aid her in all occasions.[9] Pope Pius IV. thought also of sending to England the Abbot of *Saluzzo*. He had been the friend and confidant of Cardinal Pole. Elizabeth thought so badly of him, that she at once refused to receive him.[10]

Elizabeth now publicly announced her resolution shortly

[9] Wright's Elizabeth, i. 39. Froude, vii. 216.

[10] June 6, 1560. The Abbate de Salute (Abbot of St. Saviour's?) is dispatched from Rome, and a license will be requested for him to come into England. The Queen desires to hear often of his health. Treasure sent to him. Lemon, 154. Froude, vii. 243, 245. Gonzalez calls him the Abad de Saluzzo, but as the date of the fact agrees, it is apprehended the same person is meant, although the text is not confirmed.

to marry, and the death of Leicester's wife accredited the suspicion she had chosen him. The Secretary Cecil and the Duke of Norfolk were ill affected towards her for the lavish favours she bestowed upon him. Moreover, it was bruited about that the Queen and Leicester had planned the assassination of his wife, since she was found in a country house with a stroke from the point of a dagger in her head.[11] The Catholics, impressed with these matters, now urged Philip to interfere, and in particular to maintain that if the Queen died without offspring, as might happen, *her sister* (*su hermana*) Lady Catherine Grey [daughter of Henry, late Duke of Suffolk] ought to succeed, as regulated by the will of Henry VIII.[12] A.D. 1560.

Philip wrote to the Queen that permission might be given to Lady Dormer, *grandmother* (?) to the Duchess of Feria, and Madame Clarencieux, to leave England. The request was refused, and Elizabeth declared the Court of Philip was the refuge of all her enemies.[13]

[11] Hardwicke, State Papers, i. 121, 165. Froude, vii. 148, 279, 282.

[12] Lemon, p. 64 and index; and ii. 554. Lingard, vi. 678. Hallam, Const. Hist. i. 167, 339. Nichols, Queen Jane, Chron. C. S., vol. 48, and Edward VI., pp. 561–573. The text is literally followed. The statement as to the degree of relationship is obviously erroneous, unless "hermana" simply expresses affinity.

[13] There is apparently an error here. Lady Dormer was the second wife and widow of Sir Robert Dormer, sheriff, co. Bucks. She was the mother of Jane Dormer, subsequently Duchess de Feria. See Noble's 'College of Arms,' pp. 117, 118. Madden's Princess Mary, p. 227. Madame Clarencieux was Susanna, daughter of Richard White, of Hutton, in Essex. An interesting account of her is given in Noble's 'College of Arms,' p. 116, and Madden, p. 222, which coincides with the statement here made. A portrait of the Duchess de Feria, representing a woman of much grace and beauty, was exhibited at the Museum formed at Warwick by the Archæological Institute, July, 1864. Elizabeth was perfectly justified in her act. They were both noted intriguers of strong Roman Catholic feelings, and the Conde de Feria was Elizabeth's bitterest enemy.

A.D. 1561.

Upon the death of the King of France, December 5th, 1560, [Francis II.,] the Scottish dissidents became more fervent, conforming in almost all points with the religion established in England. They conferred even upon the choice of a successor to the throne, and named the Earl of Arran.

Elizabeth sent several Protestant bishops to the Catholic bishops then in durance, to intimate that if they would but publicly conform to the offices and prayers of the Church as established, she would not exact from them the oath [of Supremacy ?]. They all refused, saying, "It would
Feb. 25. be abjuration of communion with their Church." Upon this the Queen nominated bishops for York and other places, which, because of the number of Papists in those parts, she had hitherto avoided.[1]

The rumours that Elizabeth now indulged in the most intimate intercourse with Leicester became so brim, that in one of the audiences with De Cuadra she tried to exculpate herself, showing him the arrangement of her private apartments, and seeking to persuade him the reports were unfounded and calumnious.[2] Leicester on his part sought to conciliate the ambassador, and sent sporting dogs and other presents to Philip. The preachers now alluded in disparaging

[1] Strype, A., i. pt. i. 370, 372.

[2] Sharon Turner's Elizabeth, p. 569. Strickland's Elizabeth, vi. 257.

terms to Elizabeth in their sermons, because of her conduct with Leicester. Henry Sidney, brother-in-law of Leicester, confident of his marriage with the Queen, proposed to Philip, that to obtain his support (*para ganarle en su favor*), he should come himself to inform him of the aims of both parties, and give out as a pretext his wish to visit his relation, the Countess de Feria. Elizabeth sought to negotiate with Philip more politically, by making favourable overtures to France, for which end the Earl of Bedford was sent.[3] Meanwhile Leicester was earnest in personal endeavours to induce De Cuadra to persuade Elizabeth she ought to marry him; he broached the matter, but the Queen said, "She should first like to know how Philip would regard such a union." Leicester sought also to induce Philip to believe that by marrying Elizabeth he could remedy the evils in regard to religious questions, to which end they could propose the most suitable measures in the General Council, and at which, if requisite, he himself would attend.[4] At the beginning of April, Elizabeth, under the pretext that Leicester's apartments, being low, were unhealthy, gave him others on an upper story near to her own. Philip considered the overtures made by Leicester and through his brother-in-law, Sidney, to the effect he should induce Elizabeth to marry him as soon as possible, and directed the Earl should be informed that he would enter into no negotiation upon a matter of such importance, unless the Queen should accredit a special ambassador to him.

A.D. 1561.

Jan. 25.

Rumours were now prevalent of a conspiracy amongst the Catholics against the Queen, in which even De Cuadra was implicated, who elaborately exculpated himself in an official letter of the 27th April. On this account, and for other

April 27.

[3] Machyn, 248–270. Froude, vii. 315.

[4] Froude, vii. 308–313, 325–328.

A.D. 1561. reasons, the Council resolved to refuse admission to the Nuncio, despite the representations of De Cuadra.[5]

The Courts of Elizabeth and Philip became daily more estranged.

Several nuns, expelled from their convents, pensioned by Philip to induce them to continue in their faith, now turned Protestants. Others, more faithful, sued for permission to retire to Flanders, which was refused, as they were suspected of complicity in acts of sorcery against the life of the Queen.

Injurious statements were now printed and circulated against Philip and De Cuadra, which increased the coolness between the Courts.

Lady Catherine Grey was committed to the Tower, under the plea she meditated a marriage injurious to the interests of the Queen. The Earl of Hertford also was arrested; he confessed a marriage with Lady Catherine. She subsequently gave birth to a child in prison.[6]

Oct. 24. Elizabeth sent a special embassy on the 24th of October to Spain, with the view to effect an abatement of the export dues, and the adjustment of reprisals. And, suspicious of Lady Douglas [Lennox], and doubtful whether her son did

[5] Strype, A., i. pt. i. 410. Froude, vii. 342–344.

[6] It is unnecessary to repeat the story of this unhappy lady, the theme of so much eloquent condemnation of Elizabeth. Mr. Froude's researches now enable us more calmly to view the case. She was evidently deeply compromised in the intrigues of De Feria and De Cuadra. The latter merely used her as a tool, to use or to throw aside as policy might dictate. She forgot Cecil, who knew her, and Lady Catherine paid the penalty of a flighty ambition. She died January 27, 1567. Froude, vii. 70, 92. Aikin, i. 347. Hallam's Const. Hist. i. 172. Wright's Elizabeth, i. 69, 137, 140. Lemon, 230, 235, and index. Haynes, i. 369, 378, 404. Machyn, p. 300. Strype, A., i. pt. ii. 88, 117, 121, 124. Ellis's Letters, 2nd ser. ii. 277–290. Stevenson, Calendar, ii. 2, 3.

not design to marry with the Queen of Scots, she compelled her attendance in London and that also of the Duke of Norfolk, and of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland.[7] A.D. 1561.

[Shan] O'Neill (*el Grande*) took the oath of allegiance on the 6th of January, 1562.

[7] Froude, vii. 387–389.

A.D. 1562.

Elizabeth, with regard to the King of Sweden [Eric XIV.], now stated definitively she neither wished to marry him, nor
Aug. 5th. that he should come to see her.[1] [August 5th, 1562.] In the meantime Leicester incessantly pressed upon De Cuadra, that he should importune Philip to persuade Elizabeth to confirm, as soon as possible, his marriage with her.

The English Catholics now loudly complained, that whilst in full reliance Philip would aid them in the restoration of the Roman Catholic ritual, he had abandoned them entirely, and had allowed himself to be misled by the artifices of Elizabeth and that thus they had unwisely declined the protection of the King of France, which he had repeatedly offered. In fact, Philip's position was changed. If at one period he had followed the counsel of the Duke of Alva, and of his other ministers, he would not have left Flanders at the time he did; he might then have succeeded in reducing England to obedience to the Roman See, and have prevented the loss of the United Provinces. But his policy at the beginning of his reign was, perchance, less sagacious than at a later period. The French Court wilily misled him, and for many years he felt kindly inclined towards Elizabeth, notwithstanding her slighting conduct. When he determined to invade England,

[1] Strype, A., i. pt. i. 405. Wright's Elizabeth, i. 85. Granvelle, vii. 227, 550. Eric's love-letter and Granvelle's comment thereupon are of great interest.

the opportunity was gone. Twenty years of defensive armament, the death of Don Alvaro de Bazan, of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, and the tempestuous weather, defeated the attempt. A.D. 1562.

The conduct of De Cuadra became now very suspicious at Court, and great pains were taken to watch his proceedings. For this purpose some religious refugees from Spain were employed; amongst them was a renegade, named Cassiodoro, who was perhaps the well-known Cassiodoro de Reina, of whom mention is made towards the close of the year 1563.[2]

The Earl of Lennox was imprisoned in the Tower [February]; he had been before in the custody of the Master of the Rolls.[3]

There was a prevalent rumour in the beginning of February, that the King of Sweden seriously entertained the question of marriage with the Queen of Scots. This gave so much umbrage to Elizabeth, that she ordered a fleet to be ready to sail to *Verwich* [Berwick].[4]

Strong representations were made to De Cuadra, to obtain indemnity for wrongs done to British subjects in Spain.

Towards the end of April, Cecil's project of recovering Calais by any means gained strength. To further this, an

[2] This is most probably the Cassiodorus mentioned by Strype in his life of Cranmer. He was a refugee preacher, and it was doubtless owing to his entreaty a church (St. Mary Axe) was granted for the use of the Spanish Protestants. If so, he was compelled to fly, upon an accusation "de peccato sodomitico," A.D. 1563. Strype's Grindal, p. 219. Annals, i. pt. i. 355. Cranmer, i. 352.

[3] In Lemon's Calendar, a letter dated Shene, May 14th, 1562, is cited, from Margaret, his Countess, entreating Cecil to obtain his release. There can be but little doubt he was engaged in many disloyal schemes. Froude, vii. p. 388.

[4] Verwich. This was most probably Berwick-upon-Tweed. See Eric's Letter, Granvelle, vii. 227.

A.D. 1562. expedition against Normandy was proposed and favoured by Condé. The King of France formally instructed the Queen she must by no means encourage this design. Elizabeth commissioned Sir Henry Sidney to ascertain the views of the Queen Mother, and, if she were inclined towards Condé, to offer her all the aid of the English forces.[5]

The day after St. George's Day [April 24th], some of the nobility presented a petition to the Queen, recommending her to marry immediately, and suggesting Leicester.[6]

The insults to De Cuadra increased daily, even to forbidding any Englishman to enter his house, of which he loudly complained, as a wrong, done not indeed to him, but to the King his master, and a violation of the law of nations. The restrictions on the bishops and others were increased; their number exceeded three hundred and sixty.

The Secretary, Cecil, had at this time so completely overcome the fidelity of a retainer of the ambassador's, as even to induce him to become a Protestant, and through him to discover the secrets of the embassy.[7] A courier, dispatched to the Duchess of Parma, was seized, it was said by the servants of *Cobban* [Cobham].[8] It happened also that in a brawl between certain men some pistol-shots were exchanged, whereupon it was asserted that De Cuadra had given the delinquent an asylum in his house [Durham House]. In vain De Cuadra demanded personally of the Queen redress for these proceedings,—no satisfaction was

[5] Hayward's Annals, p. 96. [6] Machyn's Diary, p. 280.

[7] This man was Borghese, De Cuadra's Secretary. The Bishop's anxiety and conscientious scruples to murder him, the bland persuasion with which he sought to induce him to go to Brussels, where he might be at once gibbeted, reveal the mind of the man and the casuistry of the priest. Nevertheless, De Cuadra was always equal to his position. Froude, vii. 398.

[8] Two of the younger Cobhams, of a gallant, brave, and adventurous race; they were disguised as highwaymen. Froude, vii. 398.

given; moreover, Sir George Chamberlayn[9] and a certain Valert were arrested as friends of the ambassador. The intrigues against him multiplied, even to the extent of forging a letter supposed to be addressed by Philip to the Earl of Bedford, on the supposition he was high in his confidence. But this excited but little attention, and the Earl destroyed the letter.[10] Elizabeth, irritated, gave full utterance to her anger against De Cuadra at a long audience to which he was admitted, justifying herself very clearly for the following reasons:—Firstly, because that he had maliciously glossed the answer through her ministers relative to the coming of the Pope's Nuncio. Secondly, that he openly encouraged the Catholic party, particularly the recusant bishops, exhorting them to impugn the Anglican confession of faith. Thirdly, that he had sent to Philip the book of Dr. Baal [Bale, J., Bishop of Ossory], in which he wrote wrongfully of him and of the Spanish nation, adducing it as evidence of the inimical inclination of the Queen. Fourthly, that he had reported to his Government that she had given a church for the use of the Spanish heretics in London. Fifthly, that John O'Neill and twelve more Irishmen, together with many English Catholics, had openly received the Blessed Sacrament at the embassy. Sixthly, that he had written to Philip describing her as his mortal enemy. Seventhly, that he had asserted that the ships which had sailed to the Guinea coast were hers, and sent for a political purpose. Eighthly, that he had intimated to his Court it was her intention to encourage the heretics in the Low Countries, with the intent to expel therefrom the Spanish power. And lastly, that he

A.D. 1562.

June.

[9] This is doubtless the Sir George Chamberlayn described by Strype as one of the pensioners of the King of Spain, a restless intriguer with De Feria and the Duke of Alva. See Index to Strype, p. 143. Froude, vii. 397, 398. And see *ante*, p. 63.

[10] Mr. Froude says the Earl of Derby. Froude, vii. 400.

A.D. 1562. had informed Philip that she had contracted a private marriage with Leicester in the house of the Earl of Pembroke.[11] To these charges De Cuadra nobly replied. He admitted what was true, and placed before her the evidence upon which he had based his conclusions, and pointed out to her that it was his duty and obligation to report such matters to his Court. Philip showed himself greatly incensed at these proceedings, and it may be said that from this hour he became greatly estranged from Elizabeth. He wrote to her at once, openly stating that he must assist the King of France against his rebels, and that to this end he should assign ten thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry, which caused a great sensation in England; but although the Duchess of Parma expressed very firmly her opinion, that with due regard to the treaties then in force, Elizabeth was also bound to declare herself against the rebels, the replies were extremely ambiguous.

The Court of France dispatched a M. Vieilleville [see Castelnau, book iv. 155] to require from Elizabeth a clear exposition of her policy, and at the same time pointed out various acts committed on behalf of the rebels against the realm. She replied—these accusations were the mere results of the intrigues of Philip, who sought only the ruin of her kingdom. For her part, she had garrisoned her coasts to be ready for whatever might arise, and that, in any case, it was not incumbent upon her to render an account of her acts to any one.[12]

Peter Meobis (*sic*) went to France, accredited by Elizabeth,

[11] The account here given of this interview should be compared with Froude's History, vii. 401–404.

[12] It is not probable such a reply was ever sent. The absence of dates renders it difficult to fix the transaction. If it related to the affairs debated by the ambassador in August, 1562, the statement can be refuted. See Forbes, State Papers, ii. 17.

to concert with the Duke of Orleans, who promised to deliver up Havre de Grâce, Dieppe, and Rouen; in consequence troops were dispatched to these places. But the design was known in Paris in time to prevent its success.[13] Philip alike in private letters to the Queen, as well as informal conference with her ambassadors at Madrid, constantly enjoined her to forego such projects. But Elizabeth, puffed up by the promises of the rebels, and at this time well supplied with money, neglected all advice upon the matter. A.D. 1562.

Arthur Pole, nephew of the Cardinal, under pretext of religion, but really desirous that his right to the succession should gain strength (*tomase cuerpo*), sought to leave England.[14]

The church of St. Mary Axe (*Santa Maria de Hacqs*) was given to the Spanish Protestant refugees, for public service.

Cecil drew up (*ordenó*) a work, in which he attempted to prove (*intentó probar*) the falsehood of the Romish doctrines, and the intolerance of that Church in every country.[15]

The expedition to Normandy set sail in the middle of September, notwithstanding the vehement representations of the French ambassador.

The Queen was taken ill at Hampton Court, so much so that her life was despaired of; frequent councils were held to deliberate upon the succession to the throne, but the smallpox, which had been kept back by a bath she had taken, soon after broke out, and anxiety ceased.

Through the medium of De Cuadra, the English Catholics solicited the decision of the Pope as to whether they

[13] This Peter Meobis was Sir Peter Mewtis, who arrived at Dieppe on the 22nd July, 1562. Throckmorton's Letters to the Queen explain the details in relation to his embassy. Forbes, State Papers, ii. 5.

[14] Strype, A., i. pt. i. 555.

[15] This doubtless refers to Nowell's Catechism, Edward's Articles, and Jewel's Apology, lately written at Cecil's instigation. Froude, vii. 504.

A.D. 1562. Oct. 10. could attend the Protestant service. The question was referred to the Inquisitor-General, who replied—No. Whereupon De Cuadra was authorized to absolve them from the ecclesiastical censures they had incurred.

The troops sent against Normandy were landed, but shortly after, Rouen and Dieppe were surrendered, and they were concentred at Havre de Grâce. The Earl of Warwick (*el Conde de Verwich*) pressed for immediate reinforcements, and the blame of the miscarriage of this expedition fell upon Cecil, who took to his bed and absented himself from the council.

Arthur Pole was taken, and declared that he went to France to further the designs of the House of Guise, and that if the Queen of Scots should ascend the English throne he was to be created Duke of Clarence.[16]

Elizabeth sought at this time to negotiate a loan both at home and abroad, but the military successes of the French discouraged the scheme.

The Queen's anger was now so excited, that upon the French ambassador's refusing to agree to the restitution of Calais, she determined to place a guard on him, and to arrest others of his countrymen then in London. But the news came at this juncture of the overthrow of Condé, and of his being taken prisoner, so the resolution was given up.

Intimation was given to the prisoners in the Tower, that if they did not take the sacrament at Easter as the Queen did, their heads should fall on the scaffold—but they to a man refused.

[16] Dr. Lingard rather derides, and describes it as a supposed attempt. We do not get over a difficulty by a slur. It certainly was wild and visionary, but it was sincere. It had the covert protection of the French ambassador, and the actors were doubtless merely used to play off against the Queen's policy in Normandy. See Lingard, vi. 80. Strype, A., i. pt. i. 546. Memorials, ii. pt. ii. 67.

A.D. 1563.

On the 9th of January, Elizabeth addressed an important letter to Philip. In this she complains with asperity of his ambassador, Don Alvaro de la Cuadra, Bishop of Aquila. She allowed his extensive knowledge, admitted his prudence and practical ability in the conduct of affairs, but added that his residence at her Court was no longer agreeable. He meddled with matters beyond his accredited functions. He fomented disturbance in the kingdom, upon which account she trusted another ambassador would be appointed, better suited to the time, and free from the suspicion now attached to the embassy. The Council [at Cecil's instigation] sought in consequence to compel his recall, under the pretext that he had given asylum to a man who had shot at a servant of the Vidame de Chartres.[1] The truth was De Cuadra had not granted him asylum, but

[1] Le Vidame de Chartres, Seigneur de Ferrières-Maligni. He was suspected of an intimate *liaison* with Marie de Medici, accorded for diplomatic purposes. This is merely doubtful. "Elle n'avait de goût sensuel que la bonne chère." He escaped the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and was held in great estimation by Elizabeth, who granted him a pension of £300 quarterly. August 9th, 1567, he recommends Pierre Briet and Jean Carre to Cecil, who sought permission to erect glass-works similar to those of Venice, which was forbidden by the Senate beyond the limits of that State upon pain of death. The Queen authorized him to receive wine duty-free. Leicester thought little of him. Strype, index. Martin, France, ix. 52. Lemon, pp. 211, 297. Wright's Elizabeth, index. Froude, vii. 476.

A.D. 1563. ordered him to be turned out by a private way [*puerta accesoria*]. Nor in fact did it afford any ground for the charge, for, according to his statement, both the aggressor and the complainant were foreigners, and the shot did not take effect. The Queen, nevertheless, gave orders the bishop must give up the keys of his house [Durham House], both of the doors which opened upon the street, as well as upon the river. De Cuadra complained strongly of this order, and solicited a private audience. But this she refused point-blank, and referred him to her Council. At their meeting, Cecil told him, the Queen was determined to take from him the official residence [*la casa real*] which he occupied, well aware that conspiracies against her life were therein concocted, and that every Papist in London resorted thither to hear Mass; and that this was so well known, and caused so much ill-feeling among the people, that had not the Queen restrained it, the populace would have attacked the house, and cut the throats of as many as they found therein.[2]

To these charges De Cuadra calmly replied. He adduced proof of their falsehood, and added that no threats whatever should control him in the discharge of his duty. These proceedings took place just prior to the meeting of Parliament, with the view of intimidating the Catholics; and so strong was the animosity against them, that upon the sentences inflicted upon the Reformers in France becoming known, there was not a sermon preached in London, in which the populace was not incited to kill every Catholic. The Bishop of London, conjointly with the Queen's Commissaries, now commenced publicly to persecute all foreigners who did not follow the reformed ritual; and upon De Cuadra complaining of this, he was told that since more than twenty-six Englishmen had been burnt in Spain, it was but just to make reprisals!

Jan. 12.

[2] Froude, vii. 477, 479.

On the opening of Parliament, it was proposed to pass a penal law against the Papists, which was resolutely opposed by the Earl of Northumberland, who asserted that the real motive was to condemn to death the bishops and the clergy, and next the leading chiefs of the party. A.D. 1563. Jan. 12.

Upon the 2nd of February, as the ambassador was saying Mass in the chapel of the embassy, the service was interrupted by an armed mob, who tore down the doors, and finding no Englishmen at the service, seized Spaniards, Flemings, Italians, and others, and bore them away openly to prison amid loud huzzas.[3]

Overtures were made to De Cuadra by John O'Neill, that if Philip would aid him with eight hundred Spaniards he would make war against Elizabeth. The ambassador declined the project, having regard to the delicate position in which he stood. Notwithstanding this, the Council, fearing the insults offered to De Cuadra might lead to bad results, became more conciliatory, and granted a partial satisfaction.

A vote of supply to the Queen was unwillingly conceded,

[3] Sir John Mason thus narrates the affair in a letter to Sir Thomas Chaloner, February 27th, 1562. There must be some error in the date. It is described as taking place February 2nd, 1563, and Mason's letter is printed among those of that month and year. Mason's account is as follows:—"It may fortune come to your ears that the Spanish Ambassador hath lately been very ill-used, as indeed the matter might have been better used by such as were put in trust who abused their commission. The truth was, that on Candlemas Day the Queen's Highness being advertised that sundry of her subjects would to both the Ambassadors' houses to hear Mass, and to be present at the rest of the ceremonies wont to be used on that day, took order by her Council that certain should be sent to try the truth thereof. Who, mistaking their instructions, went malapertly to the places where the Ambassadors were at service, and there laid hands upon certain of her subjects. The meaning was they should not have entered within the gates, which hath been declared to the Ambassador, and I suppose he is satisfied." Wright's Elizabeth, i. 128.

A.D. 1563. Parliament holding the succession to the crown should be first settled.

The Commons almost unanimously passed a Bill that every public functionary, without exception, should take the oath of supremacy in spiritual affairs, and that no one should dare to defend the authority of the Pope, under pain of death "al reincidente." This passed with but little opposition.

Government now ordered that no foreigner or traveller should attend Mass, under heavy penalties. The Spaniards who met to hear it at the chapel of the embassy were arrested and heavily fined, and held to bail in four hundred pounds to appear personally every Tuesday to receive orders.

The Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Arundel gave a partial support to the law against the Catholics, to which the Earl of Montagu, with a noble Christian liberality, offered the most determined opposition.[4]

Arthur Pole and his associates were condemned as traitors.[5]

Cecil avowed openly in Parliament that Philip threatened to invade England.

Ledington, the Secretary of the Queen of Scots, passed through London at this time for France, with the intent, as it was rumoured, to propose the marriage of the Queen, his mistress, with the Most Christian King. This pleased Elizabeth. It would probably be a protracted negotiation, and thus stop a similar offer with regard to Don Carlos, which she feared the most. The news that the Duke of Guise had been wounded was celebrated with tournaments. Ledington remained in London longer than was expected, without proceeding to France, and in a very intimate conference with De Cuadra, he showed him clearly that public

[4] Lingard, vi. 82. Hallam, i. 157.

[5] Lingard, vi. 81. Forbes, Cecil to Throgmorton, ii. 186. Wright's Elizabeth, i. 129.

policy, especially in relation to religion, counselled that the Queen of Scots should marry Don Carlos, and that comparatively neither a union with the Archduke nor the King of France was so advantageous, in which opinion both the Scotch and English Catholics concurred.[6] A.D. 1563.

Notwithstanding the irritation excited by the severe proceedings of Elizabeth towards De Cuadra, Philip, for reasons not given, passed them over, and contented himself by merely intimating his displeasure to Sir Thomas Chaloner in general terms, and to the Queen in an official dispatch.

Elizabeth, fearful that Mary, Queen of Scots, treated secretly with Philip, and of her marriage with Don Carlos, intimated that she was not disinclined to declare her successor to the throne, provided that the Protestant form of worship as at present established was guaranteed.

Intimation was again given to the bishops in custody that they must take the oath of supremacy in matters spiritual to the Queen, under pain of death. They replied in common accord, they would lose their bodies rather than peril their souls.

The Emperor interceded on their behalf [September 24th?] and as at the same time it was rumoured Philip designed to go to Flanders, this persecution was slightly restrained.[7]

Doctor Story, commissary against the Lutherans, broke from prison, and by the aid of the chaplain of the Spanish embassy, escaped.

John Smith [of Essex], cousin-german of King Edward, fled from England from dread of persecution.

Elizabeth conferred the Order of the Garter upon the Earls of Northumberland and Warwick.[8]

[6] Ranke, Geschichte, i. 341. [7] Strype, A., i. pt. ii. 47.

[8] Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick. A man, says Hayward, more noble in birth than of any other ability, not noted for any vice nor for any virtue, notably preferred to this high place of charge, more

A.D. 1563. In the beginning of June, a correspondence commenced between Philip and Mary, Queen of Scots. In a dispatch of the 15th of that month, he intimates he had decided to treat upon the question of her marriage with his son, for the good of religion. But upon the 6th of August he changed his mind, *por la disposicion de su hijo*, and sought to direct the question [*desviar la plática*] towards his cousin the Archduke.[9]

Aluye (*sic*) [M. D'Alluy] pressed upon Elizabeth the restoration of Havre de Grâce, but she resolutely refused unless Calais was surrendered.[10]

The Prince of Orange and Count Egmont treated secretly with Elizabeth, upon matters greatly prejudicial to the interests of Philip.[11]

Elizabeth informed Mary, Queen of Scots, "that if she married a Prince of the House of Austria she would be her constant enemy; if on the contrary, she did so according to her will, she would declare her successor to the throne." De Cuadra, aware of this, sought out a confidential agent, and sent him [very secretly by way of Ireland] to Scotland to know the Queen's determination. This agent was Luis de Paz. A meeting with the Queen was covertly arranged, at which she told him she was not indisposed to consider the proposal, but to acquaint Philip more clearly with her own views and the present state of her kingdom, she would accredit a confidential agent, as these matters could not be trusted to letters.[12]

by favour of them who were in favour with the Queen than either upon experience or expectation of his own worth. Hayward, page 101.

[9] Lingard, vi. 95. [10] Lingard, vi. 87. Forbes, State Papers, ii. 435.

[11] There is an interesting note relative to these nobles and their designs about this time, in a letter of Granvelle's to G. Perez. But he does not allude to any intrigues of theirs in England. Granvelle, vii. 166.

[12] Various notices of this proposed marriage, and a most important

The Bishop of Ross was sent. Mary had corresponded A.D. 1563.
also with Cardinal Granvelle and the Duchess of Arschot.

When Luis de Paz returned to London, he found the ambassador upon his death-bed; he died, in fact, four hours after his arrival. Nevertheless Diego Perez, Secretary to the Legation, went to Flanders, and informed Philip's council, pressing the immediate appointment of another ambassador, well supplied with funds to sustain the hopes of the Catholics and to increase their adherents. The last letter of De Cuadra is dated July 17th, and in this he notices July 17.
the measures he had taken to prevent the sail of the maritime armaments destined to molest the Spanish ships trading to the Indies, and to make discoveries prejudicial to the acknowledged rights of Spain. The Bishop died towards the end of August, and his loss was deeply felt both in London and Madrid.[13]

dispatch from Granvelle to Philip relating to Luis de Paz, will be found in Granvelle, vii. 113, 143, 145, 167, and 208. Froude, vii. 524. See also Alava's letter to Philip, January 23rd, 1565. Teulet, v. 6 [1565].

[13] The death of De Cuadra is noticed to Philip by Cardinal Granvelle in his dispatch dated September 7th, 1563. In this, he refers to the event as having caused deep regret to all. He strongly presses the Bishop's services upon the King, and solicits the royal liberality for the good of the soul of the defunct, and because he had died crippled with debts and in extreme necessity, and hopes his relations may profit by the Bishop's devotion to his duties. De Cuadra died probably of the plague. See letter from Cecil, August 20th, 1563. Wright's Elizabeth, i. 137, 142. Granvelle, vii. 196, 203, 209, 215, 336. Stow's Annals, 656.

A.D. 1564.

At the beginning of this year, it was understood Elizabeth would forego her demand for the restitution of Calais.

Jan. 19. On the 19th of January, Philip being then at Monzon, a private dispatch was sent to Don Diego Guzman de Silva, appointing him ambassador to the English Court.[1] His instructions were to proceed to Paris, and seek an interview with Don Francés de Alava, the ambassador, and make himself thoroughly acquainted with the state of political affairs. From thence he was to go to Flanders, and consult the Duchess of Parma and Cardinal Granvelle, especially relative to the disputes about the shipping prizes, upon which there had been such mutual angry reclamations. At London he was to show the Queen the greatest respect, and endeavour as much as possible to please her, and maintain the closest amity; to intercede pressingly on behalf of the Bishops, and to convince her it was opposed even to the very spirit of the Reformed religion to compel men to renounce the faith they held. To give the most minute information to the King and to the Archbishop of Seville relating to the Spanish heretics then at London, or who might subsequently arrive there.[2] By every means within his power he was to gain

[1] Granvelle, vii. 335, 673.

[2] Philip's anxiety in this respect was incessant, and would have qualified him for the office of Chief Inquisitor in Spain. There is a curious illustration of this zeal in relation to one Amsted, who appears to have escaped his clutches. Granvelle, vi. 272, 289. Strype, A., i. pt. 1, 173.

the confidence of Leicester and the other councillors of the Queen. To be unremitting in his endeavours to bring the commercial question to a successful issue. To be equally so as regarded any instructions he might receive from the Emperor. Finally, to avail himself of the same confidential agents whom the late Bishop Don Alvaro de la Cuadra had employed. A.D. 1564.

Articles of peace were agreed upon, on the 11th of April, between the French and English. April 11.

Peace was proclaimed in London on the 22nd. On St. George's Day, the Order of the Garter was conferred upon Lord Henry Sidney, brother-in-law of Leicester, the King of France, and the Earl of Bedford.

There was now a rumour that from Richmond Elizabeth went to *Verwich* (*sic*) [Berwick?]. Some said it was to relieve herself from a womanly frailty [*flaqueza*];[3] others, that it related to the marriage of the Queen of Scots.

The Bishop of London [Bonner] was cited to take the oath of supremacy [*el juramento cívico*], but absolutely refused.

Upon the 5th of June [7th?], Elizabeth confirmed the treaty of peace with France, at her palace at Richmond, with M. de Brissac, ambassador from Paris. June 5.

Guzman de Silva arrived in London on the 17th of June [the 18th]. He immediately reported that a MS. had been circulated, the purport of which was to prove that the succession to the Crown descended to Lady Catherine Grey, and to her sons by the Earl of Hertford. It was attributed to an erudite writer, named *Ales* [Hailes]. The result was, Lord June 17.

[3] Gonzalez says: "It has been often stated these rumours were circulated by the ministers of Philip, but nothing can be more untrue; the entire correspondence proves they spoke with great reserve about them, and in fact they discredited and disavowed many communications they received." Gonzalez, page 303. Lingard, vi. 659, and Note E.E. 718, upon Arthur Dudley, a reputed child of Leicester and Elizabeth.

A.D. 1564. John Grey, her uncle, the Lady Catherine, her husband, and the Duke and Duchess of Somerset, were arrested. The Earl of Bedford and even the Secretary Cecil were inculpated.[4]

June 22. Upon [Thursday] the 22nd, De Silva was formally presented at Court. The Queen received and embraced him with every appearance of satisfaction. She spoke to him in Italian and Latin with elegance and ease. Leicester confided to him immediately the secret of his enmity to Cecil, believing him to be concerned with the book of Hailes, and asked him to induce the Queen to reprove him.[5]

July 5? Whilst residing at Richmond, the Queen invited De Silva there. She invited him to sup in the house of one of her kindred [*deudo suyo*] named *Sastil* (*sic*) [Sir Richard Sackvile], and received him very graciously, inquiring after the Royal family in Spain, especially after Don Carlos. Then asking—"How matters were as regarded his marriage with the Queen of Scots?" she added—"What does it mean? Every one despises me." [*¿Como ha de ser? Todos me desprecian.*][6]

The Earl of Arundel resigned his office.

By proclamation it was now ordered all unlawful prizes should be restored to their ports, a measure which tended to improve the feeling between the two Courts.

The ambassador of Saxony still endeavoured to persuade Elizabeth that Philip, the Emperor, and other princes were meditating to declare war against the Protestants.

Sept. 23. At the Emperor's death [September 23rd, 1564], the

[4] Strype, A., i. pt. ii. 117; Strype, Smith, page 92. Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith, Wright, i. 173, 179. Haynes, i. 411, 415. Hallam, i. 174. Birch, i. 10. Froude, viii. 84.

[5] On September 12th of this year, Cecil alludes to the rumours "that things are not sound betwixt my Lord Robert and me," which he rather disavows. See Wright's Elizabeth, i. 176. Froude, viii. 85.

[6] See a fuller detail of this meeting, Froude, viii. 84, 88. Aikin, i. 391.

Austrian Court gave no official information of it to the Queen, A.D. 1564.
who, although offended, gave orders that a solemn service should be performed in St. Paul's. Throckmorton was sent to offer condolences on her part, and it was suspected also he took with him instructions relative to her marriage with the Archduke.[7]

On the 29th of September, the Queen conferred the rank Sept. 29.
of Baron and Earl upon Leicester, a title hitherto restricted to the second sons of the Royal family.[8]

The Queen of Scots showed much discontent towards Elizabeth because she postponed the meeting of Parliament, in which she thought the succession to the Crown would be debated. She sent an express message to her on the matter, whereupon Elizabeth replied, "She was not so old that they should so constantly remind her of death." [*No era tan vieja para que le presentase la muerte delante tan continuamente.*]

De Silva exerted himself with great ability on behalf of the Catholics, and in private conference with her on the matter she said, "She had been compelled to temporize at the beginning of her reign upon many points repugnant to her, but that God only knew the heart, and that she thought of restoring the crucifixes to churches."[9] Cecil also advised the Protestant clergy, that they should not molest the Catholics.

The Irish again renewed their overtures to Philip to take them under his protection, which he declined, and desired De Silva to set aside with fair words whatever they might propose on the subject.

[7] Lemon, page 245. Strype, A., i. pt. ii. 119. Cecil, Wright's Elizabeth, i. 176, 177.

[8] Lingard, vi. 101. Wright's Elizabeth, i. 177. Lemon, pages 244, 245, 246. Strype, A., i. pt. ii. 120.

[9] Strype, A., i. pt. i. 259. Ranke, Geschichte, i. 306. Froude, viii. 130, 141.

A.D. 1564. Leicester now showed himself to De Silva well-inclined to favour the cause of the Catholics, believing that he might by this policy obtain the support of Philip to his marriage with the Queen. But it was now well known she no longer thought of it, and so she frankly told the ambassador.[10]

The Bishop of London [*Bonal*] was arrested upon suspicion that he was inclined to favour the party on behalf of Lady Catherine Grey's succession to the Crown.[11]

De Silva sought private interviews with the Queen, on which occasions he explained to her that, although his instructions were not to meddle with religious questions, he yet felt that it was his duty relative to the Bishops and other principal men, and assured her the adherents of the

[10] It would be difficult to assign the precise cause for Elizabeth's final rejection of Leicester. The papers from Simancas, subject to the judgment of Mr. Froude, may perhaps show how the scheme finally failed. No defence can be offered for Elizabeth's conduct. She was attached to Leicester. Her pride would not permit her to marry him. The opinion of her people, the strong remonstrance of her Council were opposed to the match, yet she dallied with his suit, vacillated and decided to reject him, but not until Amy Robsart had been removed by death, and that she had allowed Leicester to make overtures to Philip, which, if accepted, would have caused a long and bitter civil war, or the entire subjection of the Protestants. In 1565, Cecil alludes to the Queen's misliking of my Lord of Leicester. Wright's Elizabeth, i. 206. Compare Raumer, Beiträge, i. 45–53.

[11] Bonal?—This must surely relate to Bonner. Grindal was at this date Bishop of London. No authority is given for the statement. Grindal, although he attainted John Stow, the tailor, as a fautor of Papistry, was not likely to be forward in political intrigue. Dr. Bonner, the deprived Bishop, was detained in the Marshalsea, where he died September 5th, 1569. In 1564 he was in the King's Bench. He was liberally treated, but was buried at St. George's, Southwark, among thieves and murderers. He owed his life to his imprisonment. He was suspected of being a party to the rebellion in the North, and it is probable that it is to this the statement refers. Strype, A., i. pt. i. 214. Strype's Grindal, i. 210.

old faith were more dutifully inclined towards her than those of the new. This she admitted, and gave orders to mitigate the confinement of the Bishop of London [Bonner], and assured De Silva she did not read *libros Alemanes* [the works of the Reformers], but St. Jerome and St. Augustine. A.D. 1564.

The body of Bishop Cuadra remained still unremoved from England, his servants fearing it would be arrested if they attempted to do so, on account of his unpaid debts. Philip ordered two thousand crowns to be remitted for their discharge.

A.D. 1565.

Shortly afterwards, and it was thought with the concurrence of Cecil, Elizabeth showed some tendencies as regarded religion, which the Reformers did not take in good part. Among others, was the order given as regarded placing an image [*una imágen*] in her own chapel, and the use of vestments by the clergy.[1] But either by the advice of Leicester, or, as it was said, from other causes she recalled the instructions.

In the [revived] Carnival of this year, jousts, tournaments, and masquerades were held [on Shrove Tuesday], at which Leicester was one of the maintainers.

Upon Ash-Wednesday the Dean of St. Paul's [Dr. Nowell] preached, but as he condemned images, and the cross [in churches], the Queen ordered him to be silent.[2] Some of the clergy resisted the injunction as regarded the ecclesiastical vestments, but the Queen insisted definitely upon their compliance with her orders.

Upon occasion of the interview arranged with the Queen of Spain, with her mother the Queen of France, in Fuenterrabia, Elizabeth revived again the question of her marriage. She told Guzman de Silva she knew that Don Carlos was to

[1] "Entre ellas fué notable la de mandar poner una imágen en su capilla, y permitir que el clero anduviese en trato honesto peculiar, y usar sobrepellices en las horas." For a full account of these orders see Froude, viii. 133–141.

[2] Froude, viii. 136.

marry a daughter of the Emperor, and the Archduke Charles a princess of Portugal; that for herself, little inclined as she was to matrimony, yet considering the urgent pressure of her subjects, she thought of marriage with the King of France; that it was not her fault if she had not married Philip [*que el no haberse casado con Felipe no quedó por ella*], and that she felt hurt because Don Carlos had not been proposed to her. A.D. 1565.

The body of Bishop Cuadra was sent by way of Flanders to Naples, under the charge of Luis Roman, who had been his agent.

In this year Philip gave instructions to his ministers to collect evidence to accredit his right to the throne of England. Whereupon Guzman de Silva drew up a genealogical table. [Gonzalez, p. 308.]

On the 27th of April, the Queen, whilst hunting with Leicester, fell from her horse and hurt her leg.

The ceremony of the Washing of Feet was celebrated [on Easter Tuesday], with much pomp and devotion.[3]

The Baron of Mitemburg [or Miterburg], *i. e.* Adam Schwethowitz, arrived in London [May —], to return the insignia of the Order of the Garter of the late Emperor. It gave rise to the suspicion that the proposal of marriage with the Archduke Charles would be again renewed. The answer to be given to this embassy, the attitude of the Catholic party, and the opinion which at that time prevailed that the marriage of Darnley with the Queen of Scots would take place, caused much embarrassment to Elizabeth and her Council.

I [Gonzalez?] have seen a copy of a letter of the Queen Mary Stuart, written to the Lady Margaret [Douglas] in the Tower, in which she informs her "that her son is well, and that she had received the key which had been sent to her, of which great care should be taken."

[3] See De Silva's letter. Froude, viii. 140.

A.D. 1565. July 24. On the 24th of July, Queen Mary wrote to Philip, asking his support to her marriage with Darnley, for the good of religion; for Elizabeth had compelled her to break off intercourse, to make ordinances very prejudicial to the Faith, and had instigated her subjects to rebellion.[4]

In the month of August the question of the marriage of Elizabeth with the Archduke was seriously discussed. The Emperor proposed "That the Archduke should be left entirely free in the exercise of his religion both in public and private, and that the title of King should be conceded." But to this no member of the Council would agree, so the question was again deferred, on the pretext the Queen would not marry until she had seen him. The Duke of Norfolk took no part in this, and Cecil was the leading opponent. There was a rumour at this time of her marriage with the young King of France, who would in such case support her with a powerful levy of troops for the conquest of Scotland.

Aug. 6. On the 6th of August, De Silva reports the marriage of Mary with Darnley, on [Sunday] the 29th of July, and the tumults which had occurred. The Queen of Scots sent a secret dispatch to the Pope, informing him of the danger in which the interests of the Catholic religion stood unless she was promptly aided, and asking the aid of twelve thousand infantry. The Pope answered in vague terms, stating that before all things it was requisite to consult the opinion of Philip. In the meantime party-spirit increased in Scotland, and Elizabeth knowing this, aided the "Congregation" with two thousand crowns, formerly destined for Lord Henry Sidney in Ireland.

The Lady Margaret [Douglas] was still a prisoner in the Tower, sick, and not allowed the attendance of the physician she desired.

It was now rumoured that Leicester's influence and private

[4] Froude, viii. 184.

favour had declined, and that although this did not outwardly appear, yet that *Henniche* [Sir Thomas Heneage, a principal officer in the Queen's household] enjoyed her more intimate confidence.[5] A.D. 1565.

Upon the 26th of October [October 16 ?] Philip gave the first formal evidence of his rupture with Elizabeth, in reply to Cardinal Pacheco [on a message from the Pope]. He announces his intention to support the Queen of Scots in concurrence with the Pope, of whose views he expresses his satisfaction. First, to subdue the rebellion against her, about which he anticipates no great difficulty. Secondly, to maintain the Roman Catholic religion. Thirdly, to support Mary's right to the throne of England, which required the gravest consideration. He added, he was prepared to aid Mary both with money and advice, according to circumstances, but added that he was determined all should be done in the name of the Pope,—no mention whatever being made of him. This project was communicated to De Silva, who was charged to keep it secret, and to give only general replies should the Council speak of the matter. A sum of twenty thousand crowns was also remitted, which he was to employ as he thought fit on behalf of the Queen, neither specifying the sum nor the purpose. He wrote also on the same day to the Queen of Scots, felicitating her upon her marriage.[6] Oct. 26.

On the 24th of this month, Elizabeth addressed letters of congratulation to Philip on the meeting at Bayonne, and the marriage of the Prince of Parma and the Princess of Portugal. Oct. 24.

Guzman de Silva quitted London at the end of October, to assist at this marriage.

[5] This was doubtless some waiting-woman's scandal, who believed what she herself desired.

[6] Froude, viii. 228–232. Tytler, vii 9.

A.D. 1566.

Leicester and Norfolk began at this time to wear violet and yellow sashes, to distinguish those of one party from those of another.

It was reported that upon the occasion of the embassy of *Rambollet* [Nicholas d'Angennes, Seigneur de Rambouillet] to bring the Order of St. Michael for the King of Scotland, Leicester, and the Duke of Norfolk, the arms of France had been placed where formerly those of Spain were displayed, which attracted much attention at Madrid. It was noticed also that the ambassador appointed by Elizabeth to conduct the ordinary business of the embassy, *John Mann* [Dean of Gloucester, 1565], was of low extraction.

March 16. The Earl of Arundel departed for Italy. It was suspected that he had quitted the kingdom to enjoy the free exercise of the Catholic religion, particularly when it was understood his mayordomo had visited the Bishop of London [Bonner] in prison, which caused his being held in stricter durance and no one to be allowed to visit him.

It was said Riccio's death had been planned, directed, and rewarded by eight thousand crowns remitted from London, as a proof of which, Cecil had mentioned the act to the Lady Margaret the night before it had occurred.

It is worthy of note that when the Earl of Northumberland came this year to London at the festival of St. George, although he did not visit De Silva, he sent him a messenger

to say he might rely on him on all occasions in the interests of King Philip.[1] A.D. 1566.

Thomas Anet [Thomas Danett] who had left London on May 12th, with dispatches from the Queen for the Emperor [Maximilian II.], informing him that it was her intention to confer the Order of the Garter upon him, and was accredited also with instructions relative to her marriage with the Archduke Charles, now returned with a very unfavourable reply. For the Emperor wrote definitely to Elizabeth, "that since no church was to be appropriated for the public service of his [the Archduke's] religion, and that the title of King of all her realms was not to be conceded to him, he would not give his consent." Elizabeth felt the refusal extremely, and showed much ill-feeling towards Philip, to whom she attributed the decision.[2]

In Parliament, the question of the succession was debated with great animation. The Queen was extremely dissatisfied with Leicester and other members. Of the former she said

[1] The Duke of Norfolk's treason is entirely confirmed by the documents printed by Teulet. See, among others, Alva to Philip II., May 7th, 1571, v. 74.

[2] This Thomas Danett was probably a descendant or connected with the Danetts, a respectable family in Leicestershire. Gerard Danett, of Danett's Hall, was one of the Council of King Henry VIII.; he died in 1520, leaving two sons, Sir John, who died before 1577, and Thomas, who married Anne, the daughter of Sir Matthew Browne, and who died in 1569. This Thomas left a son Thomas, who was under twenty-two in 1556—and may be the person mentioned in the text. On the 18th May, 1566, Cecil writes to Lord Henry Sidney that his cousin Danett has been sent to the Emperor. There is also a letter from Thomas Danett to Cecil, dated from Vienna, 4th July, 1566, and a copy of a letter from the Queen to Thomas Danett, 29th July, 1566. On October 20th, 1586, Thomas Danett writes to Secretary Davison and makes application for the Clerkship of the Council, then vacant, about which he had spoken to Mr. Robert Cecil. Nichols, Leicester, iv. 570. Lemon, Calendar, ii. 364.

A.D. 1566. that "he was a thankless fellow, who repaid very ungratefully the favours she had conferred upon him, even to the point of suffering her honour to become suspected on his account [*hasta el punto de padecer su honra por causa de él*]."[3]

It was now discussed to forbid absolutely the service of the Mass, even in the chapel of the embassy, at which De Silva showed himself much aggrieved, believing it to be a violation of the rights of ambassadors.

The Queen still seemed inclined to mitigate in some degree the rigour against the Catholics, and in consequence of the information received at Rome, every hope was held out to induce the continuance of this feeling.

Dec. 1. On December 1st, Guzman de Silva at a private audience pointed out how beneficial it would be for the Queen to be reconciled to the Court of Rome,—"That she should not be suspicious of the Pope, for should the case arise [*en caso necesario*], he would legitimize her, and would grant her the investiture of the kingdom, and of this he could give her the strongest assurance." She replied,—"God knows what this means. I am well aware of the goodwill of the Pope, and, who knows? it may happen that after all we two may marry. [*Dios sabe lo que hay en esto. Estoy segura de la buena voluntad del Papa, y podrá ser que todavía nos casemos los dos*]."[4]

[3] Froude, viii. 312–316.

[4] Froude, viii. 330.

A.D. 1567.

Suspicion gained ground in London, and even at the Spanish embassy, from private communications received from Spain, that Queen Mary was a party to the death of Darnley.

As soon as Leicester heard the news, he endeavoured to be a party in the discussion of the future marriage of the Queen of Scots, and even offered himself as a suitor.

De Silva tried to induce Elizabeth to believe that the act had been instigated by the French Court, with the view of marrying the Queen more in accordance with its views. Elizabeth released Lady Margaret Lennox from the Tower, which gave general satisfaction. Monseigneur de Moreta, envoy from the Duke of Savoy to Scotland, travelled thence immediately after the death of the King, and although as he passed through London he narrated at the embassy the facts as described, he added thereto some details which in the judgment of the ambassador either proved, or induced much suspicion, that the Queen knew and had even sanctioned the act, and Moreta showed he himself thought so.[1]

Some celebrated English navigators, made overtures to Guzman de Silva to enter into the service of Philip, for the discovery of a route to the East Indies by a way much shorter than that known to the Portuguese.

[1] This is rather doubtful. Compare the postscript of Guzman de Silva's dispatch, March 1, 1567, to Don Frances de Alava. Moreta appears to have been extremely reserved,—perhaps *unwilling* to speak. Teulet, v. 20, 22, 23, note of Alava.

A.D. 1567. June 23. On the 23rd of June, the Earl of Sussex [Thomas Ratcliffe, 11th Earl], embarked for Germany, to carry the Order of the Garter to the Emperor [Maximilian II.], with secret dispatches relative to the marriage of Elizabeth with the Archduke Charles.[2] At the same time, the Court of France rather pressed a union with the King.

July 3. On the 3rd of July, however, Elizabeth told Don Guzman she would not give the world cause for derision, at seeing at the church door an old woman and a child for that purpose.

July 31. The 31st of July, the *Conde de Mure* [Earl of Moray] went to Scotland, and conferring before he departed with the Spanish ambassador, evinced much displeasure that the Junta had seized the Queen. For himself, he had always thought very badly of the Bothwell case, and that he knew for a certainty of the existence of a letter of more than three sheets, in the handwriting of the Queen, and addressed to Bothwell, in which she pressed upon him to execute what they had agreed upon as regarded the death of the King, either by giving him some potion, or, in case of need, burning the house; adding, that for himself he had not read the letter, but gave the statement from one who had [Elphinston].[3]

[2] Holinshed, iv. 232. Lingard, vi. 116. Ashmole, Garter, pp. 395, 404. Strickland, vi. 286.

[3] Teulet, ii. 294, 297. Tytler, Scotland, vii. 147.

A.D. 1568.

Elizabeth was suspicious that the secret league between the Pope, the Emperor, the Kings of France and Portugal, was not motived to solely with a view to resist the Turk, but to put down the insurrections in France and Belgium, and, this done, to invade England, dethrone her, and restore the Roman Catholic religion. The envoys of Philip endeavoured by every means to convince her no such design was entertained.

The Queen showed a decided resolution to abate nothing of the changes introduced as regarded religion. It would seem it was this determination that made her refuse the conditions proposed by the Emperor relative to her marriage with the Archduke. For during the discussion of the matter, being asked if she were really now convinced the Archduke was neither a fool nor deformed, she replied, "She knew he was an intelligent man, and as for his personal defects she had never given credit to the rumours,—and even if he were so, it was of no moment, as her own constitution would freely supply whatever deficiencies this might cause as regards offspring; but in fact she had to attend to matters of far greater importance."

At the conferences at York, the Regent Moray submitted various documents relative to the complicity of the Queen in the murder of Darnley, which in the judgment of some were not authentic.

APPENDIX.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Page 42.—*Gross venality of the Council.* That the Duke of Alva and others seriously thought the councillors of Elizabeth were open to bribes will be seen from Alva's letters to Philip, June 13, 1569, to Don Guerau de Espés, July 2, 1569, printed in the Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España, por los Señores Marqueses de Pidal, etc., tomo xxxviii. pp. 133, 151.

Page 45.—*Bishop of Ely.* Thomas Thirlby, deprived for refusing to take the oath of supremacy, December 23, 1559. He was succeeded by Richard Cox, first Dean of Oxford, elected July 28, 1559. His name does not appear as Archdeacon of Exeter. Le Neve, Fasti; Hardy, vol. i.

Page 55.—March 19th. *Harman* was no doubt Sir George Howard, Knight. On March 18th Sir J. Mason writes to the Queen:—"Arriving here on 16th instant, found the Lord Chamberlain's son newly dispatched to her with the conclusion of the Peace," etc. Stevenson, Calendar, i. Nos. 421, 596.

Page 56.—*Lever.* Archdeacon Thomas? or John Aylmer or Elmer? These names are merely conjectural. Aylmer was a man of known erudition, and was certainly one of those selected for

the disputation. Holinshed, iv. 183. Strype, Aylmer, p. 11. Stevenson, Calendar, i. 278, No. 744.

Page 64.—*Bishop of Sandwich?* This perhaps relates to the Suffragan Bishop of Dover, near Sandwich, and to the successor of Richard Thornden, who probably died about 1557. Foxe cites the death of both Thornden and his successor as examples of punishment for the sin of persecution. Strype, Cranmer, ii. 1046. Memorials, iii. pt. ii. 28. Foxe's Martyrs, iii. 801.

Page 86.—*Don Carlos*, "por la disposicion de su hijo." Philip may have acted under honourable feelings in this respect; but he might fear the results of power in the hands of Don Carlos in regard to his own policy. The character of this unhappy Prince is still doubtful; it was clearly tinged with insanity, darkened by violent passions, relieved by the light occasionally of a better nature.

Page 96.—*The Lady Margaret Lennox* [Douglas]. The late Mr. J. H. Markland has copied an interesting inscription from a room in the Tower, relative to the imprisonment of Lady Margaret Lennox there, June 20, 1565, including the names of those "that do wayte upon her noble Grace in this place." Amongst these appears the name of Elizabeth Chambrelain, possibly a relation of the Sir George Chambrelain mentioned in these documents. Lady Lennox died at Hackney, March 10, 1577, aged 62, and was honored by Elizabeth with "a stately funeral" in Henry VII.'s Chapel. But does not the fact of attendants being allowed her rather moderate the opinion, the imprisonment was ordered in a tyrannical spirit? The Lennoxes were disloyal by interest, by religion, and by policy. It was a great misfortune, but the Act was authorized for the protection of the State. Archæologia, xxiii. 406.

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